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## FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

751T.001/1-NEA

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22 JAN 1950 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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From: DAKAR 8

January 7, 1950

851-9111 RR/12-1949  
NEA

Ref: PARIS AIRGRAMS A-1955, DEC. 19, and A-1989, DEC. 28, 1949.

D/C/R Subject: IMPRISONED RDA MILITANTS

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OLI EUR/RX REVEIL the communist inspired RDA party weekly newspaper published in Dakar has given front page publicity to the same stories reported by Paris as appearing in HUMANITE. In the current issue, January 2, 1950, REVEIL devotes nearly half of it's four pages to the imprisoned militants and to "manifestations of a great movement building up to liberate them."

The other newspapers of FWA have had very little to say about the prisoners, the hunger strike, or any movement to liberate them.

A highly placed judicial official told Consul Moreland yesterday that the whole affair was organized and directed by the Communist Party in France, and that the action unfolds principally in the communist newspapers of Paris and Dakar. He said that orders to go on hunger strike were given by the CP in Paris, but that only eight of the RDA members imprisoned in Ivory Coast were attracted rather reluctantly by the thought of possible martyrdom. The popular manifestations of sympathy and demands for "action", he said, were confined largely to the newspaper stories and party orders from Paris. Except for the party leaders in Ivory Coast and Dakar, the native population was showing no interest in the prisoners and was certainly not displaying "emotion".

The Director General of the Interior told us today that the hunger strikers were all active leaders in the "affaire de Treichville" of February 6, 1949. On this occasion another political party was having a meeting. The R.D.A. planted groups of agitators both in the meeting and outside. At a signal they started a riot. In the process two people were killed and a number of buildings were sacked. The leaders and active participants that could be found were jailed. Since then their attorneys have attempted to obtain their provisional liberty pending trial, but because of the criminal nature of the charges the court would not grant this. Also the RDA and their attorneys had presented so many petitions, counter-charges and the like, that the trial had to be put forward to permit

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W.D. Moreland Jr./ms

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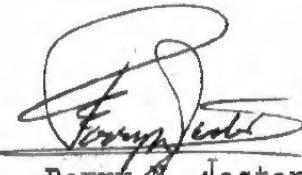
time to prepare the case. Trial is now set for the first week in March.

As concerns the hunger strike itself, the Director General said that the men displayed little enthusiasm for their task; acting under party orders and not from love of their cause, they managed to obtain some nourishment such as by drinking sugar and water. He said that the Government was particularly careful to give them close medical attention and to take any of them to the hospital as soon as they showed any signs of weakness. The hunger strike ended the morning of Dec. 29, 1949.

He said that the demonstrations were confined to small groups, mostly women, in front of the prison; the efforts to have a boycott on imported goods fell flat for lack of interest. At no time, he said was the public order disturbed and he did not now anticipate any further disturbance. The trial is to be conducted solely on the grounds of disturbing the peace, and willful destruction of property and human life.

An intriguing item appeared in REVEIL for January 2, 1950. It was a telegram of sympathy for the unjust and grievous treatment of the RDA leaders and hope for their prompt liberation, signed LATRILLE, from Perigueux, Dordogne. M. Latrille was Governor of Ivory Coast from 1944 to February 1947, and is now said to be a high official of the Department of Dordogne in France. M. Latrille and his Secretary General, Lambert, are given credit for creating the RDA Party and introducing Communist Ideology into Ivory Coast.

The figures for RDA membership quoted from Gabriel D'ARBOUSSIER in Paris' Al1955, are considered both in Dakar and Abidjan to be highly exaggerated. All available information indicates that the ranks of the party are steadily thinning; resignations from the party by leading natives continue, and the memberships of anti-RDA parties are increasing.

  
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Perry N. Jester  
American Consul General

Copy to Paris



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TO: Department of State

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FROM: DAKAR 52 FEBRUARY 2, 1950

MESSAGE CENTER 751T.001/2-250

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REF:

1950 FEB 7 AM 11 34

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SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INSPIRED DISORDERS IN IVORY COAST.

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During January, 1950, a series of Communist inspired manifestations took place in Ivory Coast. The disorders consisted principally of sacking and burning houses and shops of members of anti-RDA parties. The principal leaders of the RDA Party were present or in the vicinity when these events took place; they are: Houphouet, Deputy; d'Arboussier, Counselor of the French Union; and Denise, President of the General Council of Ivory Coast.

The manifestations are understood to be directed solely against the anti-Communist party leaders and were not directed against white men or the Administration. It was thought on January 28 that the Administration had the matter in hand and that calm was restored. However, on January 30, a further manifestation took place at Dimbokro when several thousand people rioted during which 12 were killed and 60 wounded.

All these troubles were clearly directed by RDA leaders. By January 27, it looked to the French administration as though the leaders thought they had gone too far. They then took the line of calming people by making speeches urging calm and peace. The incident at Dimbokro nevertheless took place and it is supposed that the RDA leaders were playing a double game.

It is believed in Government circles that these disorders are a part of the campaign being waged by the Communist Party in France against the war in Indo-China and to discredit the French Union. The fact that d'Arboussier made a trip to Moscow about three months ago and a quick trip to France in the middle of January and that trouble coincided with his recent movements, give credence to this thought. It is also thought that although there appears to be no direct contact between Gold Coast and Ivory Coast, the troubles in Gold Coast early in January are related to those in Ivory Coast in that they are both scheduled and timed by Moscow. They are a part of the plan to confuse the colonial issue before the United Nations and in the eyes of the United States and to divert attention away from the iron curtain area.

A commercial source reports that these disorders were ordered by Zik of Nigeria. It is possible that the recent troubles in Nigeria, Gold Coast, Liberia, and Ivory Coast may have received some coordinated direction from leaders in West Africa.

RE: Moreland:rs 1/30/50

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According to the press and government sources, the following incidents took place:

At Zuenoula, Cercle of Bouake, in December, 1949, Zamble Bi-Zamble, Secretary of the RDA party and personal friend of Houphouet, burned the houses of four opponents of his party. One of these was the "Chef de Canton", (the local native chief recognized as such by <sup>the</sup> Government) who with his family narrowly escaped death in the fire. There/several other incidents in Zuenoula during December. The courts sentenced Zamble Bi-Zamble and three of his helpers, all known RDA militants, to prison for from 12 to 18 months.

At Daloa, from January 3 to 8, 1950, a number of brawls and incidents took place at the instigation of local RDA leaders. The local RDA chief, Robert Druid, has been indicted for cutting and wounding.

At Afferi, subdivision of Adzope, in early January, the houses of twelve local notables, known opponents of the RDA, were pillaged.

At N'Gokro, Cercle of Bassam, in early January, all the inhabitants who were unable to produce RDA membership cards were chased out of the village. A warrant was issued for Alleh Jerome, one of the better known RDA leaders.

At Konefra, a village near Bouafle, on January 21, 1950, the shop of Sekou Baradji, a well known anti-RDA notable, was pillaged. Rioting took place, and troops who happened to be on maneuvers in the vicinity were called to restore order. Two officers and several soldiers were wounded, and of the rioters, two were killed and several wounded.

Several arrests were made, and that night, the rioters attacked the prison but not much damage was done. The Secretary of the RDA for Bouafle was arrested on January 24, 1950, for his part in the rioting. M. Houphouet was present at the arrest and had been in the vicinity during the rioting.

On January 24, 1950, it was discovered that along the Bouafle-Sinfra road considerable pillage and violence had taken place. The property of persons known for their loyal sentiments had been sacked and two women had been tortured. Full details of what happened at this place are not yet available.

As was pointed out above, the Government believed that the situation was under control shortly after January 24. It now appears that Houphouet returned to his home at Yamoussoukro, near Dimbokro, on or about January 25. Since that date, active agitation has taken place in the vicinity of those two towns and Toumodi, Bocanda, and Bongouanou. Men armed with machetes commenced to assemble in the area. On January 30, some 2 to 3,000 had assembled. Various acts of sabotage took place, such as blocking roads and cutting telegraph lines, and various acts of violence took place. The assembled armed men, by now in Dimbokro, took over the market place. They were ordered to vacate the market. The Gendarmerie and local troops herded them in front of the railroad station. The rioters

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3 Dakar '32

opened fire on the police forces who returned the fire. Of the demonstrators 12 were killed and 33 wounded. Twenty-two of the police forces were wounded.

Police and Army reinforcements are being sent to the area and investigations have been started.

  
Perry N. Jeaster  
American Consul General

Copies sent:

Ambassy Paris.  
Chief, Division of African Affairs.  
American Consulate Lagos  
American Embassy Monrovia.

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TO : Department of State

FROM : DAKAR 41 FEBRUARY 9, 1950

REF : Despatch 32 Feb. 2, 1950

SUBJECT : COMMUNIST INSPIRED DISORDERS IN IVORY COAST.

One additional organized act of violence is reported as having taken place in Ivory Coast following those acts described in Despatch 32.

On February 2, 1950, a crowd of RDA members attacked the house of Sekou Sanogo at Seguela. The police attempted to prevent the now routine sacking and burning of the house and were attacked by the crowd. In the ensuing melee one RDA adherent was killed and two wounded. Two police were wounded.

Sekou Sanogo is President of the "Entente des Indépendants de la Côte d'Ivoire" (EICI). This is a newly formed political party on loyal and conservative lines. It has attracted a large number of prominent and influential natives.

Calm appears to have been restored in Ivory Coast but the situation there is considered to remain potentially explosive. The local police have been reinforced with police and army units from neighboring territories. Six airplanes with white parachute troops are now stationed at Abidjan airport. The parachute troops at Bobo-Dioulasso, Upper Volta, have been strengthened and are on an alerted basis.

The Government of French West Africa is limiting travel of Frenchmen and foreigners to Ivory Coast to those with established reasons for going there. Journalists are being refused travel permission for Ivory Coast.

A medium ranking Government official told a member of this staff that some of the attacks were directed towards persons who have received and utilized American Marshall Plan Aid, as a warning to them and others to have nothing further to do with American Aid. Although this official was in a position to know, we have not heard this version from any other source and are at present unable to evaluate it.

On January 27, 1950, the news in French on Radio Moscow reported the troubles in Ivory Coast. In doing so

*W.D. Moreland Jr./ms*  
W.D. Moreland, Jr./ms

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Moscow reported as having taken place certain acts such as boycotts which had been planned but did not actually take place. This is considered as confirmation that the Cominform did, in fact, participate in the plans for the disorders and riots. At the least, it is considered as proof that the RDA leaders in French West Africa had reported to Moscow what they had planned to do.

Perry N. Jester  
Consul General

Copy to Amembassy, Paris.

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OUTGOING AIRGRAM

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Dakar, French West Africa.

75/3.001/2-1850

A-45, June 8, 1950

Reference is made to Consulate's despatch No. 51,  
"Communist Developments in French West Africa", dated February 18,  
1950.

This report is a valuable addition to the information  
presently available on a subject of increasing importance.

Further facts and comments are particularly desired  
regarding the following:

- (1) The Soviet concept of a strategic line along  
the 14th parallel; and
- (2) a planned campaign to reconcile doctrinal conflicts  
between Islam and Communism, especially by the  
use of supposedly Moslem ~~prominent~~ religious leaders.

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## Department of State

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AMCONSUL

DAKAR, FRENCH WEST AFRICA

A-37, May 26, 1950

With reference to the Consulate General's despatch ...

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No. 51, February 18 and No. 76, March 24, the following further information is desired:

1. Any additional details concerning the reported 30 million francs forwarded to Lisette by the USSR including method of transfer and purpose for which money would be expended.

2. What will be the mechanics involved in preventing Lisette's re-election:

3. Any further information tending to confirm or deny the thesis advanced by the reference that the Communists are concentrating their activities along the approximate line of 14 degrees north latitude would be of considerable value.

4. Further available information, in detail where possible, on overall French strategy for this area, including the type(s) of troops available and equipment, as well as the possibilities and plans for bringing in reinforcements.

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already fairly well established in various regions of Ivory Coast.

The present method of operation of the Communist directed RDA in Black Africa is well summarized in an interview granted by Robert Leon to the Paris newspaper FIGARO, and which was quoted in "La Guinée Francaise" of Conakry, French Guinea, and in "La Côte d'Ivoire" of Abidjan, Ivory Coast, on February 7, 1950. Information from other sources confirm this statement.

Robert Leon, although a well-to-do white planter in Ivory Coast was one of the early organizers and an influential leader of the party. He was elected as Conseiller in the Assembly of the French Union on the RDA ticket, and has now resigned from the party. He was quoted as saying:

"I was led to resign from the RDA because I did not wish to bow to the directives of the Communist Party.

(He then explained how the Communists worked tenaciously at "colonizing" the RDA):

"They send white emissaries on the spot to supervise, to draw up reports, and to install in command posts of the RDA men that the Communist Party considers safe. The mass of the population that follows the RDA is not Communist, but what is important, above all in Africa, is it not to organize the chiefs and chiefs of staff ?? Obviously, this seizure (of controlling elements) completely escapes the black population that supports the RDA."

Further evidence of new attention of Soviet controlled organizations to Black Africa has been described recently in REVEIL. It was announced that:

"The executive committee of the Federation Syndicale Mondiale (FSM) (World Federation of Trade Unions) decided at a meeting in Peiping in December, 1949, to set up a liaison office for Africa."

According to Diallo Abdoulaye who attended the conference at Peiping, it was also decided that the Conference should outline "to the African Trade Unions the line to follow to reinforce and make of their organizations veritable fighting unions against imperialism for the purpose of eliminating discrimination of all kinds and exploitation of which the African workers are victims; for improvement of living conditions; for peace and democracy".

The following detailed information was obtained partly from confidential sources and partly by direct contact with informed individuals at various places in the interior of West Africa.

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The newly intensified penetration principally occurred in Niger Territory with some in Upper Volta and preliminary activity took place at Thies, rail center of Senegal. The activity thus follows roughly the 14th degree of Latitude which is the approximate northern limit of the fully habitable portion of West Africa.

Communist activity although officially commenced by the founding of the RDA Party at Bamako, Soudan, in October, 1946 was first concentrated in the southern part of Ivory Coast in the vicinity of 6° Latitude at about the same time.

This area was doubtless chosen because it is the center of the greatest organized commercialized activity in F.W.A. except for the peanut fields of Senegal. In this part of Ivory Coast are the logging and lumbering operations, the cacao, coffee and fruit plantations, and the few factories in F.W.A. that process these commodities. Consequently, excepting always Senegal peanuts, it is the only part of F.W.A. where labor is employed to any large extent in productive enterprises. It is perhaps a coincidence but Southern Ivory Coast is the only dollar earning section of F.W.A.; also in this latitude, nature is kind and abundant; the minimum needs of life are easily acquired, and the people have more leisure and more emotional ebullience available for distortion in the usual Communist patterns. However, because of their environmental conditions, they are also more subject to lassitude, lack of constancy and drive, easily diverted, like children with a new toy, to newer whims especially those which require no effort.

Supported by a few white Government Officials and private citizens, the RDA version of Communism was intended to spread eventually throughout F.W.A., but with the Ivory Coast as the stronghold. Energetic measures taken by the Government 1948, contained the more militant and active brand of Communism in the Ivory Coast. Now, however, this new line of penetration along 14° Latitude has apparently been adopted. Various theories have been put forth during the past six or eight months as to the underlying strategy, for such it was thought to be as early as the summer of 1949. Having found that they could be contained when working from an easily accessible focal point, namely the center of Southern Ivory Coast, the Communists have chosen the geographical line which separates the sedentary habitable part of West Africa from the nomadic strip lying next to the vast wastes of the Sahara.

Movement, North-South, across the desert by surface or air, must, of course, cross this line and because of the great width of the desert, movement is largely dependent upon facilities along this line.

One theory, or surmise, is that contact with the Soviet Union is to be maintained across the desert. A complement to this theory is that the line is to be made secure, - by the use of sabotage at a suitable time, - against its crossing by interests

inimical to the Communists. (Author's note: it would be interesting to see whether this line extends across Tchad, - stories have been heard that there is Communist activity in Tchad). In any case, this line was successfully crossed in 1941 and 42, by French forces and supplies for operations in North Africa.

Another theory, perhaps with foundation in fact, states that Soviet trained desert people, disguised as Arab Moslem priests will be sent across the desert from the North East. They would make their first contacts in F.W.A. at Agades or Zinder.

Whatever may be the long range strategy, the current penetration of native groups along the 14th degree, is directed at peoples who are comparatively more intelligent, undoubtedly less changeable and child-like, but who by force of their environmental struggle in an area where it is harder to live than along the warmer Southern coast, may be more prone to harbor discontents which can be exploited by communist dictums. This is the marginal strip where the soil is thin, water is scarce, heat is intense much of the year, and where crops and cattle often die from the vagaries of nature. Although the peoples in this strip had probably not previously thought to blame the French for their misfortunes, they are fertile ground for well designed communist propaganda, and will now be convinced that all their troubles come from the failure of the French to provide them with this or that amenity or this or that opportunity.

This strip is also the area across which military reinforcements would find it more feasible to move from the concentrations of the interior (Fort Lamy and other F.E.A. military posts) to the coastal areas in the West where disturbances may eventually be created. It may be good Communist back-fire strategy to prepare to place hindrances to movement and organization along that route.

The penetration appears to follow a sociological as well as a geographical pattern and is concentrated on native soldiers, former soldiers, employees of communication facilities, prison guards, prisoners and to some extent prostitutes. The technique used in the known cases is said to be substantially the same and to follow a progressive line.

Commencing at the Eastern end of the Federation, efforts were and are being made to establish cells among the troops stationed at Zinder, Niger. Although there is no definitely known connection, Mr. Mignot, Assistant Chief of the African Section of the C.P. in France, visited Zinder in December, 1949, and undoubtedly gave instructions for the activity which is directed by Diallo Oumadou Yero, a soldier on his second enlistment. Apparently Yero received some instruction and training between enlistments. He is aided by Benoit Camara and Ousmane dit Bayard, who are local leaders of the Party. Having purged the

Party lists of the discontents and uninterested that were recruited at first when they sought quantity, they are now working on quality and forming a closely knit group that can be effective when needed.

Attempts have been made to lay the psychological ground work for the propagation of Communism in Zinder during the past year. In the Spring of 1949 Camara (or Bayard) worked on the sermons and teachings of Protestant missionaries in the area in an effort to obtain quotations from them concerning the "equality of men" and the evil of class and race distinctions and related subjects. He went so far as to approach one of these missionaries to enlist his aid in preparing statements and speeches. Now, however, the activity has become more direct and more organized. Efforts are being made to contact all elements of the population working from the Cell which may probably be now established among the native soldiers stationed there. The prison guards at Zinder have been taken as a second group for the establishment of a Cell, in the expectation that they will develop RDA sympathies among the prisoners. Being a more or less transient group and having a grudge against society upon leaving prison, the prisoners would be willing exponents of the cause.

Zinder, it must be noted, is the most important military communication and trading center at the Eastern end of F.W.A.

Working out of Zinder, Hamani Diori goes from time to time to Agades, also in Niger, an outpost North of Zinder in an effort to establish RDA sympathies among the troops stationed there. It is understood, however, that the native soldiers at Agades have shown so far less enthusiasm for the cause than have those at Zinder. Westward from Zinder, at Birni N'Kommi, Niger, the RDA group which had been dormant during the last year or two was reactivated about the end of 1949. Two of the three leaders there are: Nargourour Nalam, Radio operator who sends and receives the messages at the radio station; and Garba who handles the mail at the post office. Due to the small size of the town these two men are in a position to control communications. This town is a communication relay point.

Further Westward again, at Niamey, the capital of Niger the recruiting of sympathizers and probably militants is being directed so energetically at all likely groups that even black prostitutes of the town are being urged to recruit sympathizers among their clients. Hamani Diri is in charge of contacting them. It is probably felt that it is unsafe to work directly on the native soldiers of the Army here for the time being inasmuch as Niamey is Brigade Headquarters in Command of a Major General with a distinguished war experience. (Major General Ingold).

Eastward and slightly South of the line, the attempted penetration of the Former Soldiers Organization in Upper Volta is not proceeding very well because their leader, Souleimane Cisse, is Anti-Communist and the RDA Party has been waging a campaign against him personally. The members of the organization are not pleased with this and resist RDA overtures. If the RDA should overcome this error in tactics it is possible that they may make more

headway. However, the Eastern part of the Upper Volta has never been very receptive to RDA overtures. On the other hand the Western part of U.V., from the time the RDA was established in Ivory Coast, and this part of U.V. was then in Ivory Coast, has been a hot bed of communist organization and practises. The local population in this area, during the last three years, delighted in practicing the techniques that were taught them, such as sabotage of machinery, cutting of trees and slow down techniques. In view of the past history of communist activities in Western U. V. with Bobo-Dioulasso as the principal city, the present intentions of the Party in this area are somewhat of a mystery. The presence of white parachute troops there may have something to do with this, or it may be that the Party does not feel that active recruiting and propaganda is necessary there at this time. In any case, the native population between Boromo, on the Black Volta River and Bobo-Dioulasso at about 12° Latitude are said to be already sufficiently "contaminated" to hold the line.

No particular activity is believed to be taking place in Bamako, Soudan, at the present time. The RDA leaders in this area have recently been making speeches in other territories but principally with the view of establishing liaison and co-operation in those other territories. The most influential RDA leader in Soudan, Diallo Abdoulaye, who travelled in Russia and attended the World Trade Union conference in Peiping from October to December, 1949, has been traveling about F.W.A., making speeches and writing articles extensively since his return. He is certainly building up his strength and influence for use when he turns his attention back to his home territory.

Diallo and others held meetings and made speeches at Thiès, rail and road center of Senegal, during January. At this point attention is being devoted to African youth. They concentrate on the considerable number of young men as a working core, who have for one reason or another been dismissed from the mechanical trade schools Pinet Laprade and Terrasson de Fougère. Most of these young men were dismissed for natural reasons such as incompetence and failure to maintain standards. They have received sufficient education to form a militant group. The type of oratory which was used in Ivory Coast during the establishment of the RDA there was used in Thiès during January, but in view of the existence of industry and trading at Thiès, the arguments include appeals to the trade Unions. In a speech of January 14th, Touré Sekou, leader of the Trade Unions of Guinea stated: "Trade Unions must be supported by a political Party because trade unions, however influential they may be, can do nothing against a hostile Government if they do not have the shoulders of political men to lean on, who can influence the actions of the government."

In the RDA section at Thiès (called Union Démocratique Sénégalaise UDS) the secretary general is Touré Macodé of the Topographic Service; the secretary for organization is Baguidi Alexandre, foreman at the railroad shops; and the administrative secretary is a meteorology assistant.

Below the line of the 14th degree Latitude, the RDA was already fairly well established in Ivory Coast and showed its head in no uncertain fashion during the troubles of January 1950

(See Desp. #32, Feb. 2, and #41, Feb. 9, 1950) Although this was an intensification of violence and activity it does not show any increased strength in membership or influence over the non RDA population beyond the peak reached in 1947. It did, however, show willingness under orders from "higher up" to engage in open struggle on a widespread, well organized pattern.

The activity was concentrated in the vicinity of the 6th degree Latitude.

RDA activity had, in the past, never made much headway in French Guinea. Coinciding, however, with the increased organized activity in Niger territory, the Party is now attempting to penetrate Government and Public Service employees in Guinea. It is believed that these groups may be persuaded by party propaganda. Other efforts in Guinea have shown no signs of success. An effort was made to organize the women of Guinea for some reason which remains obscure. The women showed virtually no interest and this campaign appears to have fallen flat.

Propaganda Line.

The RDA propaganda continues to follow the lines found in HUMANITE of Paris and its echo, REVEIL, in Dakar, but as always tempered to suit the African ear. Diallo Abdoulaye, having been recently in Russia, can now explain away any possible criticism of the Soviet regime. As for Marxism denying the existence of God, he says, all beliefs are permitted in Russia and "Moslem Republics form integral parts of the USSR." He has spoken and written at length concerning the complete lack of racialism in Soviet controlled areas.

His words are beginning to sound like an open invitation to join the Soviet Union.

Doudou Gueye, Vice President of the RDA sounded a new note on January 14, 1950 at Thiès. He deplored the tendency of the Senegalese to consider themselves superior to the other ethnic groups of F.W.A. "Ivory Coast, the chosen land of the RDA, is not, although it is so said, a country of savages. Senegal was certainly the first territory to come in contact with European civilization. The Senegalese would be terribly wrong to take advantage of this, because they were in the hands of the whites only an instrument of enslavement for the other peoples of Africa. The heroes of Africa are not the laptots (Senegalese G.I.s) and infantrymen, but the chiefs and soldiers of resistance to the invaders."

The speaker then presented Touré Sekou, descendant of Samori, who waged war against the French and Senegalese from 1888 to 1898. Touré Sekou has been called the most dynamic of the CGT leaders, and it is likely that he is now being built up by the RDA for anti-French purposes.

TRADE UNIONS

The trade unions in F.W.A. are not officially in the RDA camp. However, leaders of the RDA Party, d'Arboussier and Diallo Abdoulaye in particular, have been devoting much attention recently to the trade unions, especially in Senegal and Guinea. They are obviously attempting to talk the trade unions into joining "common aim" forces with them. In addition to the RDA-trade-unions contact which has accelerated in the past month, representatives of C.G.T. of France have been very active among the trade unions here. Most active, as a link in this, is Touré Segou, who, it so happens, is also a member of the RDA. He receives orders from CGT leaders in France. There is at present considerable agitation led by the CGT leaders and apparently encouraged by RDA leaders, for a general strike in Senegal and Guinea. It is understood that the groups concerned have not yet determined upon the demands or reasons for a strike, but are actively searching for a program which would justify a general strike.

At first glance, it seems remarkable that Ivory Coast is not included in the strike program. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that the Communist inspired RDA pattern is much further advanced in I.C. than in Senegal and Guinea. These three territories are the most advanced in F.W.A., from the point of view of economic development and potentialities.

The stage of Communism reached in I.C. is, in the opinion of outsiders and, very likely, in the minds of RDA leaders, too far advanced for the moment, to be practical, and therefore, it is necessary to bring Senegal and Guinea to that stage. The disorders and riots in Ivory Coast in January served largely to solidify resistance to the RDA in a large section of the native population. Over the past six or eight months and culminating with these disorders, the RDA in Ivory Coast lost heavily in the elective parliamentary bodies. In the first elections in 1947, the RDA obtained 27 Conseillers to sit in the Conseil General of the territory; of these, there now remain only 9. These members who were lost by the RDA were not lost through new elections, but by resignation from the RDA Party. Those who resigned from the Party generally retained their seats as elected representatives of the people and joined other parties.

It is, therefore, possibly thought in RDA circles that in order for these two territories, Senegal and Guinea, to reach the stage now attained in I.C., it is necessary to go through the preliminaries of wide-spread labor agitation, working through trade unions.

A great mass meeting of all trade unions was planned in Dakar for January 29, but was forbidden by the Government. This meeting will be attempted again at a later date. In the meantime, small informal meetings take place nearly every day at the Bourse du Travail; no definite plan of action appears to have yet resulted from these small meetings.

REACTION TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITY.

The greatest single fear expressed in security circles, and to some extent among the general public, is that the militant communist groups might obtain fire arms. Confronted by armed crowds the existing police and armed forces, being very few in number and spread thinly over a large area, would risk extermination. Stimulated by oratory, and perhaps a little gin, the primitive childlike mentality of the West African native masses can be quickly stirred to mob violence, as was demonstrated in Ivory Coast in January. These people do not think, plan, and organize over a period of time as do the lighter races, and therein lies the danger when clever white men manipulate them.

The French security organizations believe that the smuggling of arms into F.W.A. has now been organized and may have already commenced. There are three possible smuggling routes, all of which are extremely difficult to watch. They are:

1. From the Spanish colony of Rio de Oro, across the trackless desert into Mauretania near Atar;
2. Into the Casamance of Senegal through the trackless forests from Portuguese Guinea;
3. Into Upper French Guinea through the dense forests from Liberia.

Measures have been taken to watch these three areas, but fears are expressed that the watching forces are entirely inadequate. Local native informers are said to be of no use whatever.

The high command of the armed forces became very active during February. Although it was announced publicly as a routine visit, the Inspector General of the overseas land forces of the French Army, General Valluy, arrived in Dakar by air on February 4th. He, accompanied by Lt. General Astier de Villatte, commanding the combined forces of French West and French Equatorial Africa, have gone to Niger Territory.

Major General Duin, Inspector General of the Gendarmerie arrived in Dakar from France by air on February 12th. He, also, is making a tour of inspection in the interior of the Federation.

Early in February the supply Officer of the French Air Force at Dakar asked an American oil company if it could deliver 400 drums of automobile gasoline and 10,000 liters of aviation gasoline daily to Zinder, Niger territory, from stocks at Lagos, Nigeria. At the same time, the Director of civil aviation asked another oil company if it would be prepared to make substantial increases in its deliveries of gasoline and oil to: Zinder, Niger; Gao, Soudan; Atar, Mauretania, and other points in the deep interior.

Because of the transportation difficulties, it is doubtful at present whether deliveries of the desired quantities can be made, particularly to Zinder.

Although we are not informed regarding the plans which envisage the use of all this gasoline, it is obvious that airborne troop movements are contemplated along the East-West strip north of Latitude 14. It must be mentioned that the distances are so great and the roads so poor in this area that surface movement of troops and supplies is extremely slow and cumbersome.

In view of the remoteness of Atar from anywhere else, the gasoline supplies wanted there might very well be for supplying an air patrol watching for arms coming in from Rio de Oro.

As for the relatively substantial supplies wanted at Zinder, it is believed that movements of airborne troops from the Tchad into F.W.A. are contemplated and that Zinder is to become the military base in depth with access by air and truck route across:

1. the Sahara to North Africa and Europe in case serious uprisings occur at strategic points South of Latitude 14

and                   2. Niger and Soudan territories to the coastal areas.

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The Department and Embassy, Paris, are requested not to reveal the details of this report to any French officials or contacts. If knowledge that we have these details should reach certain high quarters in Paris and Dakar, our sources would undoubtedly be compromised.

*William D. Moreland, Jr.*  
William D. Moreland, Jr.  
American Consul

Approved by:

*Perry N. Jester*  
Perry N. Jester  
American Consul General.

Copy to Amembassy Paris.

*RKJ*

## FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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FROM: DAKAR 92 APRIL 11, 1950

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REF: CONGEN DESPATCH No.8, January 7, 1950, No.32, 18  
February 2, 1950, No.41, February 9, 1950.  
SUBJECT: TRIAL OF RDA MILITANTS IN "AFFAIRE DE TREICHVILLE",  
IVORY COAST.

The trial of 37 men imprisoned for their part in the Mon-  
Communist inspired agitation and rioting at Treichville, a suburb of Abidjan, on February 6, 1949, has ended and sentences were pronounced on March 23, 1950.

The sentences are:

I. MURDER.

All acquitted.

II. GANG PILLAGE UNRESTRAINED.

Moussa Saoumoro, 4 full years prison  
 Sekou Traoré, 4 full years prison  
 Kouamé (Emile), 2 full years prison  
 Ba (Frnacois), 6 full months prison  
 Assé Konan, 2 full years prison  
 Youbouet Arkou, 3 full years prison  
 Benoko (or Bindoukou Diaby), 1 full year prison

III. VOLUNTARY ASSAULT AND BATTERY.

All acquitted.

IV. REBELLION AND CARRYING ARMS

Baladji Traoré, 3 full months prison  
 Boli Nignan, 8 full months prison

V. CARRYING ARMS

Dan Konaté, 3 full months prison  
 Bayeri (Emile), 3 full months prison  
 Dahi (Antoine), 8 full months prison.

VI. AIDING AND ABETTING PILLAGE AND VIOLENCE

Vieira (Philippe), 5 years prison suspended  
 William Jacob, 5 full years prison  
 Paraiso (Albert), 5 full years prison  
 Ekra Mathieu, 5 full years prison  
 Dadié Bernard, 3 years prison suspended

CONSULATE GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA

APR 15 1950

DAKAR, FRENCH WEST AFRICA

William D. Moreland Jr./ms  
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Mockey (J-B), 5 full years prison  
Diabaté Bakary, 2 years prison suspended

VII. Aiding and Abetting pillage.

Lama Camara, 2 years prison suspended  
Djosson Koulandi, 3 full years prison

The 16 others, including Sery (or Séri) Koré, were  
acquitted.

No particular demonstrations or disorders occurred in Abidjan or vicinity following the pronouncing of sentences. The Police and armed forces had the situation well in hand so that enthusiasm for demonstrating was generally lacking. It is also understood that M. Gabriel d'Arboussier, Secretary General of the RDA, had instructed the RDA party leaders to make sure that no manifestations took place no matter what the result of the trial might be. Before the trial commenced Coulibaly Quezzin told the party leaders to ask the people to attend the trial in mass. Crowds sometimes several thousand strong, stood outside the courthouse throughout the trial. The buyers strike against imported goods, which was, in effect, against the large trading companies, was maintained and continues.

The Procureur General of French West Africa told Consul Moreland, after the trial, that all sentences were light in comparison with the evidence against the men. He said that in view of the widespread and highly organized disorders in the Ivory Coast during January and February, this year, the prosecution took particular pains to make the case against each man very precise and definite, and, equally to avoid exaggeration in those cases in which they did not have sufficient provable evidence. The prosecution wished to avoid any grounds for criticism, legitimate or capricious, because they were now faced with the prosecution of the leaders of the more recent disorders from which there are now approximately 500 men in prison awaiting trial. The magnitude and characteristics of this case are so much more serious and dangerous, he said, that the trial will be a hard one and the penalties to be paid by the guilty will be much more severe than those dealt out in the Treichville matter.

It is also understood from high Government sources in Dakar, that in the trial just finished an effort was made to maintain the type of prosecution and the severity of the penalties on a level similar to those of the trials conducted by the British in Gold Coast in which Nkrumah was recently sentenced to 5 years hard labor. The French took this view because they considered that all the troubles in the past year on the West Coast of Africa are part of the same campaign against the Western powers. They, therefore wished to show the natives that Western justice is clear, just and consistent.

Developments during the trial March 2 to 23, 1950,  
at Grand Bassam, Ivory Coast.

The following, except for parenthetical remarks is largely a condensation and summary of the narrative account of the trial, which occupied an average of one full page in each of ten issues of "La COTE D'IVOIRE".

The trial was presided over by M. ROUX. The Avocat Général of F.W.A. (Dakar) M. HUTIN, conducted the prosecution. The Juge d'Instruction (examining magistrate) was M. MASREVERY. The defendants were represented by Messrs. Clarac, Montécot and Vigouroux of the Abidjan bar; by M. and Mme Stibbe, M. Douzon and M. Matarosso of the Paris bar and by M. Boissier-Palun of the Dakar bar. M. Josse and M. Geni represented the plaintiffs. (This is not a full list, and apparently some changes took place during the trial).

The trial opened with the reading of the charges which included homicide of Amandji, pillage of property, assault and battery involving more than 20 days of disability, carrying arms, violence, and assault and battery on agents of public order, simple but armed rebellion, giving instructions which coincided with the execution of these various acts...etc.

Approximately 100 witnesses were called by the prosecution and 70 by the defense. Among those named by the defense, the following did not appear: Houphouet, d'Arboussier, Raymond Barbé and General Plagne.

When the first defendant, EKRA was called, the defense announced that he had a statement to make. The court permitted him, and the four other leading defendants to make their statements

These statements, obviously prepared with the assistance of the lawyers furnished by the Communist Party of France, were political in nature and contained many of the points of current communist propaganda. They were apparently an attempt to place the trial on a political instead of a criminal basis. Each of the accused, in his statement, said that his membership in the RDA was the sole reason for his arrest and trial. They attacked the United States and expressed admiration for Stalin and the Soviet system. Most said that the incidents were due solely to the provocation of M. Djaument (who held the meeting that was attacked on February 6, 1949). There follow a few representative statements by the accused:

Mathieu Ekra, who is the chief of the subsection of the RDA for Treichville said, in summary: The policy of the Ministers of Overseas France and of Governor Pechoux is to re-establish forced labor in order to apply Truman's Point IV in Africa and to deliver to the U.S. the strategic base of Black Africa with its

riches and men. He called M. Coste-Floret the protector of the corrupt and said that the only objective of his entire political activity was the development of the Marshal Plan.

The present Minister of Overseas France, M. Letourneau, he said, is the errand-boy of the Americans; he conducts the anti-democratic politics, against which the RDA has made its stand since 1947. "To kill ideas, one must kill men" is the formula that the Colonialist Government has decided to adopt and it is the administration that provoked the incidents of February 6, 1949.

Bernard DADIE invoked the French Revolution.

Albert PARAISSO, Conseiller General (Member of the General Council of Ivory Coast) developed the same themes as Ekra.

Koré SERY, in his statement, added a new note. He said that while in prison awaiting trial a priest visited him to reprimand him. This, he said, is proof of the concerted action of Governor Pechoux and the Church against the RDA.

J.B. MOCKEY, Vice President of the Assembly of Ivory Coast, in his statement, cited December 1949 as the date of alliance of the RDA with the Communist Party of France.

(Comment: this statement is interesting in conjunction with past denials that there was any connection between the two parties. D'Arboussier, in an interview quoted in Paris' 536, March 16, 1950, although in hedged words, also admitted an alliance between them).

Mockey then dwelt on points made by Ekra, attacked the Atlantic Pact; insisted on the baneful consequences of Point IV which would turn Central Africa into the American defense system.

After making a number of other charges and eulogising the Soviet Union and Stalin, he said he offered Africa to Stalin so that war would not come a third time to take its men and ruin it.

At this point M. Josse protested forcefully against these "panegyrics and slanderous attacks" which had by then occupied five hours.

Throughout the trial the defense repeatedly attempted to turn the proceedings into a political debate. They used all the tricks of confusing the issue, reversing the blame, quibbling and creating an uproar that have become familiar features of trials where communists are concerned in other parts of the world.

Early in the trial the prosecution was able to establish that the RDA had planned incidents of February 6, 1949 well in

in advance. On that day M. Djaument, a former member of the RDA was to preside over a meeting of the Parti Progressiste. At various RDA meetings held prior to that date, it was decided to "sabotage the Djaument meeting by all possible means", and "to prevent Djaument from speaking by all means". One, at least of these meetings took place at the house of Houphouet on February 2, 1949. The defense testified that at this and other meetings it was decided that no arms should be carried on February 6, 1949 "not even a pin or an open fountain pen". Presented with testimony of the fact that many of the RDA militants were carrying and using fire arms, knives and clubs, the defendants either denied everything or offered strained explanations. One said that the Police Commissioner himself had forcibly placed the iron bar in his hands; others said that they were in fact, attempting to help the police restore order. Many denied that they were present at the scene of the incidents. However, these denials and explanations were largely proven false by the testimony of other defendants as well as by the testimony of the witnesses.

A considerable number of witnesses testified to the inflammatory and communist type of oratory indulged in by several of the accused RDA leaders in whipping up a riot enthusiasm among crowds just before and during the various acts of pillage and rioting.

Sample statement: "The progressistes are all colonialists, we must be done with them, either they die or we die". "They (the authorities) fear the people; the masses will take the lead." Statement made during the rioting to a police officer: "You are in the minority; if you do not wish to submit, you will see what will happen to you."

On March 13, Mme Lucienne CLAVALLES, reporter for "HUMANITE" of Paris, had arrived from Paris to attend the trial. (The Government had taken the precaution of restricting the use of the telegraph by "journalists", to the extent that "HUMANITE" was unable to give its readers a play by play account of the trial.)

(L'HUMANITE, of Paris, complained bitterly in its issues of March 15, and 16, that the "colonialist administration prevented our special envoy from sending cables". She was accordingly able to report only by telephoning to Dakar during limited hours in the morning. These messages were, then relayed by telephone to Paris during limited hours in the evening, resulting in a delay of 48 hours before the news would be published.)

Towards the end of the trial (11th session, March 17) one witness, Kacou Aoulou, gave testimony which summarized the purport of much of the testimony of witnesses for the prosecution. He said in part: (quoted from LA COTE D'IVOIRE, April 1, 1950) "The hate of the RDA for the Progressistes is proportional to the accomplishments of this minority, which groups men of good sense, in attempting to unmask the true designs of the RDA". He revealed all the attempts of the RDA to check this 'reaction'. He affirmed that the events of February 6, 1949 were the fruits of a machina-

tion knowingly and minutely prepared for a long time. He cited examples of other meetings similarly sabotaged, and he accused the leaders of the RDA of being the real authors of the crimes and pillage committed."

Gabriel d'Arboussier appeared as a witness for the defense at the 12th session, March 18. His testimony was said to sound more like a lecture on colonial and international politics than evidence in a trial.

Apparently he repeated some of the statements he made in the interview quoted in Embassy Paris Despatch # 536. He undertook to demonstrate that the RDA was a specifically African movement, and that its affiliation with the Communist Party of France was simply an accidental fact. He explained that only the Communist Party of France could understand the legitimate aspirations of the black men, and that it supported all their claims.

As for the events of February 6, d'Arboussier said, the responsibility rests solely with the administration who, in fact, prepared and fomented all the trouble. The responsibility must be sought higher up. It must be sought in Governor Pechoux who would not collaborate in the way that was indicated and proposed to him by the elected representatives of the people of Ivory Coast.

(Comment: In connection with the last sentence above, it is recalled that d'Arboussier, Houphouet and other RDA leaders, were originally elected on the platform promise that they would tell the Governor and the Administration what to do and it would be done. The Governor at this time, M. de Mauduit, failed to comply. He was shortly transferred and Latrille became Governor. Latrille notoriously consulted with Houphouet and d'Arboussier, and is generally understood to have accepted their guidance.) \*

The next witness was DJAUMENT. He replied to the attack of d'Arboussier and others, in the course of which he admitted that he had been one of the promoters of the RDA. He referred to "the immense advantages of all kinds that Latrille and Lambert had lavished on the RDA." Replying to charges made against him of trafficking in rice and coffee, he expanded on the "innumerable abuses indulged in by Houphouet and leaders of the RDA, in which they utilized their political position for profit." He cited numerous examples such as the logging camps, the barrel affair, the peanut market manipulations.

(Comment: although details of these references did not appear in accounts of trial, it is understood from other sources that Houphouet, and other RDA leaders have exacted tribute from party members in the form of compulsory unpaid labor, and have used their parliamentary position to manipulate crop market. Because of their parliamentary immunity they cannot be prosecuted in the courts.)

\* Latrille was a Communist himself.

Continuing his testimony Djaument referred to the meeting of all the RDA parliamentarians at the Palais Bourbon, Paris, on September 8, 1948, during a Government crisis. He said this meeting was the origin of his departure from the RDA party. It was there that he registered his clear disapproval of the alliance with the Communist party (which alliance had apparently become clear then at that meeting.)

The defense then asked/d'Arboussier be again called to the stand because it, the defense, considered that the question of Djaument's departure from the RDA constituted the very heart of the proceedings.

D'Arboussier testified that at that time, September 1948, Djaument was a warm partisan of the alliance, that he had asked to join the group for communist studies and had written a letter confirming his attachment to the party. He said Djaument left the party because of resentment over not obtaining a party appointment that he wanted.

(Comment: the defense's contention in calling d'Arboussier back was indeed important for here d'Arboussier contradicted some of his earlier statements while attempting to prove that as a member of the RDA Djaument had been an ardent Communist.)

#### The Pleadings.

M. Geni, for the plaintiffs, opened his pleadings by saying that the events of February 6, 1949, are an illustration of abuse of liberty, and constitute a test of force, to prevent a political meeting, which could result in a veritable reign of political terror against any other parties which might stand up against the RDA. He made the customary prediction of what the defense pleadings would be such as representing the defendants as the real victims and questioning the validity of the prosecution's witnesses and evidence.

M. Geni invoked articles 313, 440 and 441, of the penal code. Article 313 concerns "riots, meetings which degenerate into brawls, gang pillage. These acts are imputable to the leaders and to prove their culpability it is necessary only to prove that "they are the chiefs". He concluded by expressing his astonishment at the general absence of the defendants from the scene of the events,- if one were to believe their witnesses.

M. Josse, for the plaintiffs, reviewed the main facts of the events on February 6, apparently with great fire and emotion. He ended this part of his pleading by crying out his disgust at seeing "fratricidal fights born of the appetites and

needs of a party under the orders of Moscow".

The next day he continued his pleadings in more details. After developing the point of premeditation he said:

"If the facts related prove premeditation of the crimes committed, one can find in the circular of the Communist Barbé, dated July 20, 1948, the necessity through which the separatist party found itself unleashing riot."

He referred to the history of the RDA which, thanks to the energetic intervention of the Communist Lambert (former 'Chef de Cabinet' of Ivory Coast under Governor Latrille) took over from the Syndicat Agricole Africain, and the Cooperative des Planteurs Africains, and which furnished the RDA with its personnel and war funds.

He pointed out that the RDA was founded and organized for no other purpose than to be an instrument of revolution in the pay of the Communist Party.

In M. Barbé's circular of July 20, 1948, he is quoted as expressing fear of the critical spirit of intellectuals in the movement whom he calls deviationists to the right.

According to M. Josse, Barbé knew that these Africans were beginning to realize that they were only the tools in the service of an international dictatorship which makes sport of African interests. Barbé gave instructions to stifle this deviationism by terror which would prevent the undisciplined like Djaument from speaking, and would molest the members of opposing parties. From this were born the riots of February 6, 1949.

The Avocat General M. Hulin, then spoke. He said, in part: "I have never intervened, deliberately, in the speeches that the accused have given us: these political discussions have nothing to do with the proceedings.

"My silence does not mean approval.

"There are things that I have the right to say, - legends to dissipate.

I protest against the calumnies formulated by the accused: there are countries where the measures are more expeditious.

It pleases the accused to become martyrs of their ideals, to pass as symbols .....

.....  
"Gentlemen of the Court, you in no way have to divide two ideologies. What you must say, judge, is to decide if, in the name of truth--- they have the right to pillage and assassinate.

.....  
It is not by the play of chance that only the houses

of opponents to the RDA have been pillaged...

....  
"The role of the police was to come to the aid of the most pressed. They were powerless; and if they had been strong the accused would be more numerous on this bench.

....  
"The prosecution has not invoked the crime of destruction of houses, and asks account only of pillage which the penal code punishes with a term of hard labor."

....  
He then discussed the question of responsibility of leaders particularly when they incite their followers to endanger the life and liberty of citizens.

M. Williard pleaded for the defense. His pleadings were largely a political speech in which he attacked the Marshall Plan and the large commercial firms of West Africa. He also gave a defense of Soviet Russia. He condemned the "repressive anti-Communist fight carried on by the Romans against the early Christians-etc." He made a few threats against the Court.

M. Boissier-Palun, for the defense, criticized the trial and the manner in which it was conducted.

M. Vigouroux, for the defense, criticized the details of the trial and testimony. He said that he was unable to find any precedent in which article 313 of the penal code had been invoked during more than 100 years. He said it was an admission of weakness for the prosecution to fall-back on article 313.

M. Montecot, for the defense, went into considerable detail. He pointed out that the police had been powerless to maintain order although they had been warned (of the proposed riots) and it was therefore wrong to place the responsibility for the facts on the RDA.

M. Clarac, for the defense, questioned many points and the integrity of the prosecution. He reproached the administration and the police, being aware of the possibilities of trouble, for not taking dispositions to assure public order.

Mme. Stibbe, for the defense, questioned a number of points then eulogized the accused. She attacked the procedures used against the accused and pointed out the "solidarity" affirmed by telegrams received from all parts of the world.

She announced that this matter would be submitted to the United Nations, and she was convinced that "tomorrow these men will be free."

She finished by quoting Clemenceau: "We appear before you; you will appear before History."

M. Douzon, for the defense, made a semi-political

speech, called the proceedings illegal, talked about imperialism suppressing the legitimate aspirations of the Africans, and said that Djaument was an agent provocateur of the Administration.

He finished by telling the Court: "Whatever your decision may be, it will not hold back the advance of this century."

#### General Comment

A Certain amount of criticism has been directed at the Government in conversation and in one of the more outspoken newspapers of Dakar, for its handling of the trial. The gist of the criticism is as follows:

In the first place the prosecution took more than one year to prepare its case. During the trial it was apparent that a number of the witnesses had forgotten details, or perhaps, had been persuaded to change their stories. Some of the key document were lost or stolen in the interim.

This long delay permitted the communist press in France and F.W.A., to play up "illegal detention" and to whip up sentiment over the hunger strike of December 1949. This press would, of course, have found something else to play up if the trial had taken place sooner, but it is now presented with something new to talk about in the shape of those men who were held in prison for one year and then acquitted. During the trial itself, the defense made much of "imprisonment without due process of law."

The ECHOS AFRICAINS, Dakar newspaper which usually divides its space between attacking the RDA and attacking the High Commissioner, M. Bechard, in its issue of April 7, 1950 said the trial was a new slap in the face for the administration. That in the light of the illegally long delay before trial the administration ended up by proving nothing at all. Part of the trouble, according to this paper, arose from the fact that the juge d'instruction, M. Masrévery, was a young inexperienced colonial administrator, who had had scarcely one month's experience as a "Juge d'Instruction."

The communist inspired newspaper of Dakar, REVEIL, in several articles has called the results of the trial at Grand Bassam "a great success (or victory) for us." From two points of view. One is that because of the "repressive, brutal" etc. action on the part of the colonialists (issue of April 10, 1950) enthusiastic meetings and manifestations, multiply a little everywhere, in the solidarity manifested by the population."

The second point played up by this paper, and referred to in several articles is entitled "Panique chez les colonialistes." These articles say that the Government and administration whom they call "colonialists" have demonstrated panic in their behavior during

the trial and during the troubles in the Ivory Coast of January 1950. "These trembling ...fearing...men... like mortally wounded panthers whose last clawings are the most dangerous because they are the most desperate."

By this reasoning the ranks of the RDA are exhorted "to show strength and solidarity now, for these are the last blows of the colonialists."

Study of the full newspaper reporting of the trial together with confirmation of points and additional side lights obtained from informed persons lead to certain conclusions and definite impressions concerning Communism in French West Africa and the Government's handling of the problem.

1. The Communist Party of France dominates the RDA, and there are strong ties between them. For all practical purposes they are one and the same. The C.P. simply assumed charge of the preparation for the defense long before the trial took place and conducted the defense during the trial. The local RDA leaders, except for d'Arboussier's tardy appearance as a witness were conspicuous for their non-participation in both the preparation and conduct of the defense.

In assuming charge of the defense the C.P. of France sent to the Ivory Coast a team of the best Paris lawyers available to it. The expenses were supposedly covered by assessments on, and contributions by RDA members in F.W.A. Competent persons have already questioned the ability of the RDA itself, to finance its elaborate regular activities from local sources of supply. There is no doubt that the C.P. contributed heavily to the defense in this trial.

The interest of the C.P. in the trial was made clear not only during the trial but by various communist inspired newspaper articles and speeches. Briefly, the Communists considered this trial to be their greatest opportunity yet, to test their strength in a comparatively new field, namely: in the heart of a vast so-called very backward colonial area. They, therefore, spared no effort or expense. Their leadership was clear, and it is reasonably certain that none of the RDA leaders questioned this leadership of the C.P. of France or the methods of operation.

2. The trial unmistakably brought out the violent anti-United States policy of the Communists as underlying their main interest in West Africa. Strictly Comintern Anti-American diatribes were put in the mouths of black men who probably had never seen an American and had to be taught to pronounce some of the key words in these diatribes.

The editor of "La COTE D'IVOIRE" briefed and toned down and at times omitted considerably the anti-American speeches

made during the trial in an obvious effort to avoid making of his paper a vehicle for spreading this propaganda. (Since these speeches are said to have occupied a total of several hours, this office is attempting to obtain more complete accounts of them.)

3. In the opinion of the writer, the Government as represented by the Court and the Prosecution, did in fact display weakness and bungling, and supplied the Communists with ample material for future attacks on the Government. It seems obvious that the Government failed lamentably in not obtaining, or even attempting to obtain, convictions for manslaughter or for assault and battery. Convictions on these counts would seem to be useful in discouraging repeat performances of the events of February 6, not to mention the events of January 1950, and furthermore highly necessary in justifying the detention of the men for more than one year without bail. The shorter sentences imposed are considered to be completely ineffectual, for it must be remembered that a short sojourn in prison is not distasteful to the average African. In fact he eats and sleeps, his principal preoccupation, at someone else's expense.

The counts on which convictions were obtained can be interpreted as being exactly what the Communists repeatedly said the Government was doing; namely: persecuting RDA leaders. It can be said that most of those convicted were convicted for their leadership of, and participation in an RDA "activity", - not for crimes individually committed.

High officials in Dakar had told the writer before the trial that the men were to be tried for crimes, and not for political activities, yet the prosecuting attorneys in their pleadings appeared to devote their talents to condemning the RDA and the Communist Party and said virtually nothing about specific crimes.

High judicial officials in Dakar had told the writer that the Government did not wish to give undue importance to the proceedings by sending their best men to preside and prosecute. They preferred, instead, to let the established courts and attorneys of the Ivory Coast handle the trial on their own. But Prosecuting Attorney Josse referred to the defense team as: "The most formidable judicial war machine that has ever been brought to the coasts of Africa."

The Government knew some time before the trial who the attorneys for the defense would be, but did nothing to strengthen their own forces. Briefly, the defense administered a thorough moral defeat to the prosecution.

Apparently the prosecution was very careless in the preparation of their case. The following examples of carelessness were brought out during the trial:

A. A number of key documents were lost or stolen before the trial, and the prosecution had no copies. This led to considerable confusion and debate over just what the documents did contain.

B. A police officer testified that with the aid of another officer he had arrested one of the accused in flagrante delicto. The other officer denied the whole story.

C. The Police Commissioner signed the official report of one of the police investigations, but admitted in court that he had not participated in the investigation.

D. In several cases the warrants of arrest were not issued until as much as 6 months after the men concerned were imprisoned.

E. A number of charges had to be dismissed because the prosecution failed to produce evidence or testimony that it had earlier claimed.

If this type of judicial activity is what may be expected in future on the part of the French administration, the outlook for countering the spread of Communism in French West Africa is not very hopeful.

4. It is extremely likely that the cause of Communism has been advanced by the conduct and results of this trial.

The display of weakness by the prosecution, and the relatively innocuous sentences, confirms in the minds of many of the natives the contention of the RDA leaders that they are stronger than the Government. The Communists needed some martyrs in West Africa. Now they have some men who were condemned to prison because of their participation in RDA "activity" not because of having committed crimes in the usual sense of the word. Most of them will be released from prison within a few months and can be exploited to the full while the story is fresh.

  
Perry N. Jester  
American Consul General.

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FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

SECURITY : CONFIDENTIAL

PRIORITY: AIR POUCH

TO : Department of State

MESSAGE CENTER file #1001/4-1950

FROM : DAKAR 110

APRIL 19, 1950.

REF : DRN Information note #105, March 23, 1949.

APR 27 1950

Congen Despatch #51, February 18, 1950 and #92,

April 11, 1950.

SUBJECT : COMMUNIST DEVELOPMENTS IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA.

The following information was obtained from confidential security sources as well as from personal observation. It is requested that the Department and Embassy, Paris, not reveal details of this report, except of course quotations from newspapers, to any French officials, in order to safeguard our sources. All the information in this report is believed to be fully accurate and reliable and is intended to amplify and bring up to date much of the information contained in Despatch #51.

I. ORGANIZATION OF RDA IN F.W.A.  
BLACK AFRICA

1. Annual RDA Congress

From all available indications it looks as though the RDA will not attempt to hold their annual congress in 1950. Confidential sources hold this view and the RDA press and speeches avoid all mention of a 1950 congress. This does not mean a decline in activity. On the contrary, as mentioned in previous reports, there is activity in the shape of a great deal of travel by RDA officials. These men from all parts of F.W.A. visit each other frequently and hold meetings of from four to six key men at various places. It is possible that they consider this almost constant liaison to be more effective at this stage, than a large all inclusive congress. Besides, since RDA meetings have been forbidden by the Government, they probably do not wish to run the risk at this time of large scale riots and commotion that would certainly occur if they attempted to hold a congress. In the meantime they are strengthening their organizational structure.

2. Permanent Secretariat in Abidjan.

In March, Doudou Gueye informed the Directing Committee of the territorial sections that the Coordinating Committee was setting up a permanent secretariat at Abidjan. The purpose of this secretariat would be to coordinate on a systematic basis the work of the various territorial sections.

*William D. Moreland Jr./ms*  
William D. Moreland, Jr./ms  
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The following men have been selected for this organization: DOUDOU GUEYE, OUEZZIN Coulibaly, RUBEN HYORE, MODIBO KEITA, DJIBO BAKARY, GULEYE Abdoulaye. The entire group is to meet three times a year at Abidjan. DOUDOU GUEYE And OUEZZIN Coulibaly are the permanent members who "keep the office open."

This permanent secretariat would seem to be a further step in consolidating the "beachhead" already gained in Ivory Coast and its establishment confirms the thesis mentioned in Despatch #51, February 18, 1950, that Ivory Coast is considered to be the "chosen land" of Communism in Black Africa. On a number of occasions in communist writings and speeches, Abidjan has been referred to as their "Capital in Black Africa". These references, coming largely from sources in Europe appear to include British and other territories in this area. Inasmuch as there appears to be a certain community of interest between the RDA and the FSM (Federation Syndicale Mondiale) one may ask whether the permanent secretariat in Abidjan is intended to work with, or be identical with, the "liaison Office for Africa" mentioned on Page 2 of Despatch #51.

Filling out the picture of a permanent foothold in Abidjan, a newspaper called "DEMOCRATE" appeared in the city on February 26, 1950. It is edited by OUEZZIN Coulibaly, and is said to follow strictly the RDA party line. The existence of this paper reduces the dependence of the nest of RDA leaders in and near Abidjan upon "REVEIL" of Dakar and l'HUMANITE" of Paris for an organ of publicity. By the end of March its editions were running to 3,000 copies which is a significant number in an area of low literacy. (This Office has not yet seen a copy.)

### 3. Village and group cell organization.

Excerpts from recent circular instructions to RDA leaders. It is noted that they are identical with organization plans issued by the Soviet Communist Party itself.

"The smallest cell of our movement is the Village Committee. These committees must be organized in every village, without exception. It is not necessary to wait until the entire village is RDA or even until there is an RDA majority. The work of this committee is just to gnaw at the village, to nibble it man by man and woman by woman. It should be the image of the sub-section; keep accounts, strength records, and a register of arrivals and departure.

"The village committee occupies itself with placing the (membership) cards within the village. The 10% of Party dues which go to it is not the property of the Secretary or of the Treasurer, - all official positions are without pay. This sum forms the treasury of the committee and can be used only upon deliberation of the committee and for a general interest.

The strength record will contain at the beginning of each year the names of the members of the office, and quarterly the strength by sex separately, and when applicable completed with the category as voters. Each village committee will send its situation report to the sub-section each quarter. The report must always be available to the sub-section.

"The Sub-section, in principle, is composed of several village committees. It should be identical with an administrative district and include several cantons. It must have: a record book of the numbers of militants arranged by sex, brought up to date quarterly.

"A recapitulation book is necessary. In it are placed the names of all the villages arranged as far as possible by administrative district, and by village the number of adherents by sex. (Matter of accounts, - Sub-section retains 30% of dues.) Only the Comrade Permanent Secretary is paid. All other positions are not paid."

The Coordination Council sent out a circular letter, dated February 2, 1950, which said in part:

"One preoccupation must remain constantly in the minds of all Africans; It is organization and organization alone, ceaselessly perfected, improved, corrected. We shall only gain victory by constant strengthening of our methods of action, by the collation of our experience, of our successes, of our set backs, to draw lessons from them and go ceaselessly forward."

The preparation of the ground for the establishment of the Communist Party in its full organization is following the familiar well-tried pattern. After the first appeals to, and conversions in the intellectual circles, the party leaders are now discarding the majority of the intellectuals, particularly those who show any signs of independent thinking. They are now trying to permeate society from the ground up, by organizing a strong basic cell structure beginning with the villages.

It is noted that this cell structure largely ignores the customary native chieftain and tribal organization, but rather follows the governmental administrative divisions. Originally, the RDA depended upon the native chieftain and leader set-up, but since the established chiefs, who had at one time joined the party, have been resigning on a wholesale basis, it is obvious that a different structure had to be organized.

Undoubtedly, the new cell system is intended to develop new and more "reliable" leaders who will be able eventually to circumvent the authority of the traditional chiefs. Following the administrative rather than the traditional divisions would also make it easier for the Communist Party to establish its own government in the eventuality of their overthrowing the present French administration.

Another fundamental Communist concept for convincing the basic masses of society has been used, a reliable source reports. (Apparently the government security circles have missed this one.) Groups of RDA henchmen from the Ivory Coast are

reported to have gone to remote places where the people know little or nothing about the outside world and are thus not receptive to complicated talk about the "evils of colonialism", "American imperialism", and the "Beauties of the Soviet system". In attempting to found cells, these groups used the elementary Communist arguments such as, "Wouldn't it be nice if everybody shared everything, so that what anyone else has you too would have. Join with us, for we have a fine way to share everything." Speeches of this type were specifically reported in the vicinity of Macenta, upper Guinea, in February, and were said to have been given at other points as the groups travelled.

## II. RDA GOALS AND POLICY IN F.W.A.

### 1. Direction from French Communist Party.

The Communist Party of France follows closely the activities of the RDA and affiliated parties in French West Africa, and apparently guides them in all ways. As has already been reported, virtually all pretense that they are not one and the same party has been dropped.

Raymond BARBE, "Conseiller" of the French Union, and Chief of the African Affairs Committee of the French Communist Party, has written a number of circular letters to the regional sections of the RDA in F.W.A. With one letter dated January 20, 1950, he transmitted a copy of the speech made by Maurice THOREZ at Ivry, January 16, 1950. In his letter BARBE referred to the fact that THOREZ had recommended that his (communist) "troops" should administer their own justice directly themselves without calling upon the public services of order. BARBE then said:

"These are valuable directives not only for the French workers, but they constitute for the African peoples an encouragement to pursue with ever more energy their combat for liberty from colonialist oppression. It is we who must perform the task of purging and cleaning ourselves."

It is this directive, circulated on previous occasions, which is considered to be the underlying principle justifying the various acts of terror, arson and mayhem in the Ivory Coast. All these acts were directed primarily at the persons or goods of those who had quit the ranks of the RDA.

Lest there be any question as to whether direct Cominform guidance and directives come to the RDA through the French Communist Party, it is noted that BARBE in circular #200, also of January 20, 1950, quoted from the Cominform organ "Pour une Paix Durable; Pour une Democratie Populaire" of December 30, 1949. He recommended serious study of a speech, reproduced therein, by Lou Tchao-Tsi, Vice President of the Chinese Peoples' Republic, as giving "valuable information for the struggle you are conducting in the special conditions of your territory"... for liberty and national independence.

Early in February d'ARBOUSSIER sent a letter to MADEIRA KEITA, an RDA leader in French Guinea, in which he said that according to cables he had received (apparently from the C.P. of France and other European affiliates) "The RDA in Africa can count on the support of the United Nations and Russia."

André TULLET, C.G.T. leader in Paris, and said to be an ardent Communist, in a letter dated February 14, to Frederic TRAORE one of the Trade Union leaders in Upper Volta, berated him for not having sufficient contact with the central organization on Rue Lafayette. He took him to task for having addressed a circular to all the colonial parliamentarians without distinction of party. He stressed that the mandate of trade union men in Upper Volta depended upon the Metropolitan organism of the C.G.T. TULLET is quoted as writing: "What do you do with the masses ? the demands of the masses ? Instead of writing a letter to the Inspector of Labor, you must designate delegations, organize demonstrations, bawl out under their windows to make the masses act.--- The malady from which you suffer is in not wanting to go outside of legality."

Referring to the men on trial for riots in the Ivory Coast, he said: "You must at all costs support the comrades of the RDA."

In the middle of March, 1950, the "Federation des Travailleurs de l'Etat", affiliated with the C.G.T. sent a tract from Paris to the "Union des Syndicats" of Dakar ~~in~~ which referred to recent reductions in the labor forces at the naval shipyards. It said that : "the shipyards would recover their activity if it were required that the construction and repair of ships be done in French ports; if the war against Viet-Nam, and if preparation for war against Russia were stopped; and if a stop were put to the delivery of arms by the United States, which is at the expense of civil construction that should be effected in the shipyards."

Since no American war material has yet been delivered to Dakar and none is known to be on the way, this tract is apparently the first direct approach to prepare the ground for resistance in the event that American arms should be sent here. The logic of the tract was fallacious, but sound logic on world affairs is unimportant in dealing with the fairly simple African mentality.

2. Connection with the Communist Party outside  
the French Union.

NAMADOU KONATE, of Union Soudanaise (the RDA Party in the Soudan) and parliamentarian, is said to have left for Moscow on March 3rd. KONATE is a Deputy for the Soudan, President of the RDA Parliamentary Group, and the leading founder of the Union Soudanaise.

HAMANI DIORI, is believed to have gone to Czechoslovakia late in March. He is a deputy for Niger and an active RDA organizer and agitator.

GUEYE ABBAS, Secretary of the "Union des Syndicats" of F.W.A., and GUEYE ABDOULAYE attended the "IIIe Session du Comité Mondial des Partisans de la Paix," at Stockholm.

GUEYE ABDOULAYE, is one of the principal writers and speakers for the RDA in Dakar. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the FMJD (World Federation of Democratic Youth ?) and a prominent youth leader in Dakar. He was arrested for his part in the demonstration of April 14, 1950, in Dakar (see P. 9)

Various matters of RDA policy and action are said to await the return of these men to F.W.A.

Direct contact with Moscow is now taking on the appearance of a pattern, for approximately every two months one native leader of the RDA travels to Moscow and an additional one or two visit in the satellite areas. It is clear that the Comintern must consider it important and useful to bring these Africans to the Mecca of Communism or it would not arrange and perhaps pay for these trips.

It is not possible to evaluate, now, the long range effect of these visits, but there is no doubt that these trips make a profound impression on the colonial Africans and upon their admiring audiences when they return.

It seems strange that the French Administration does not appear to be aware to the dangers of these propaganda trips and find some way to prevent or reduce them. The men listed above are among the most intelligent and forceful of the educated natives. Most, if not all, received their higher education in France. They write frequently and well in "REVEIL", and are persuasive when talking to their own people. It is a pity that their talents and energies are not directed along more peaceful line, or for the real improvement of the primitive masses.

3. RDA Policy concerning the Moslems.

The attempted pressure of the Communist, or RDA leaders on the African citizenry through the Moslem Church appears to be increasing. Islam is the only unified, organized religious group in the area and is increasing steadily. It would therefore be a useful vehicle if the RDA could obtain satisfactory penetration among its leaders. The pressure for penetration must be considerable because loyal and conservative Moslem leaders frequently, and in some detail, speak and write about the evils of Communism. They have sought guidance in this from the Grand Muphti of Jerusalem, and from officials of the Arab League in Cairo.

In supplement to information reported in Despatch 51, of February 18, regarding communist attempts at penetration along the 14th degree of latitude and possible use of the Moslem Church, it is now learned that DJIBO BAKARY, Secretary General of the PPN, the Niger affiliate of the RDA and member of the new permanent Secretariat of the RDA at Abidjan, is in charge of working on the Moslems in Niger and Soudan. He uses this talking point:

"There is a similarity of view between the RDA and Communist Party for one part and the fundamentals of the Moslem religion for the other part. Fraternity and the struggle against imperialism are attributes of both the Moslems and the Democrats." ---It is noted that here he links the RDA and the Communist Party without apology.

Various other RDA leaders have been plugging the same refrain, undoubtedly acting on guidance from Europe. They use the slogan: "Every good Moslem should belong to the RDA". The Guinea RDA leader, LAMINE CAWARA, in a public speech on January 26, at Kankan, French Guinea, a strong center of the Moslem faith, said: "(the RDA) is a party that the good Lord accepts. In the Koran the RDA is called REDA." Unfortunately such simple, mystic references have an effect upon the comparatively uneducated peoples of the interior of Africa. This looks like an attempt to undermine the influence of FANTANARI, the Grand Karamogo, sometimes called the Sherif of Kankan. The Grand Karamogo has been noted for his loyalty to the Government and for his sage counsel to those who come to him for guidance.

Reverting to the project of DJIBO BAKARY, he is reported to have asked all the Moslem Marabouts who are affiliated with the RDA to keep him informed of the arrivals of influential religious chiefs and to observe their behaviour.

As a part of DJIBO's program and in continuation of the penetration previously reported as being attempted at Zinder,

Niger, ISSA IBRAHIMA, a prominent RDA member, stated on January 21,:

"The Sultan of Zinder plays politics for the one who pays him the most and it might be possible to bring him over to our side. If he accepts, the Party will pay him a more beautiful automobile than the one the administration now lends him, and this automobile will belong to him."

The Sultan of Zinder is the great religious leader of East Niger and has considerable political influence among the people. It was learned when the writer visited Zinder and Kano, Nigeria, in March 1950, that the Sultan maintains correspondence with his neighboring counterpart, the Emir of Kano. Both dignitaries are known to be loyal to the French and British administrations, respectively. Apparently those who guide the RDA have seen the strategic utility to them of diverting the Sultan of Zinder from both the French and the Emir of Kano. It is said that Nigeria in the vicinity of Kano is impervious to Communism.

However, several PPN (the RDA party for French Niger) leaders have recently made trips into Northern British Nigeria. It is said that they are sowing RDA propaganda among the HAUSSA peoples of that area.

With reference to the first paragraph Page 5 of Despatch #51, it was confirmed on the recent visit to Zinder, that a Marabout of the Moslem Church, ABA MOUSSA, pretending to be susceptible to conversion to Christianity had had many long meetings last summer with a Protestant missionary in the vicinity for the purpose of obtaining quotations that would be effective with the natives. ABA MOUSSA, delaying his "conversion to Christianity", then used these quotations in support of RDA principles. (The local French authorities give the writer credit for having convinced the missionary in question in August, 1949, that he might be assisting the RDA propaganda mill rather than making a convert. After another meeting with the Marabout, the missionary broke contact with him).

#### 4. Results of Policy

##### A. Communist Demonstrations

Not much of a violent nature has occurred in F.W.A., since the large scale disorders in the Ivory Coast of January, 1950 (Congen Despatches 32, February 2, and 41, February 9, 1950). There are said to have been recently a few mild attacks on the goods or persons of men who had quit the ranks of the RDA, and a few isolated arrests have been made. As mentioned elsewhere the RDA leaders were busy after January working on organization rather than action. The disorders predicted for Dakar were, however, attempted.

The coordination Committee of the RDA planned great meetings and demonstrations in Dakar for February 21, "the International Day for the Struggle against Colonialism." They had prepared tracts, signs, conferences, youth meetings and a series of other meetings. The Government by decree forbade the entire program. The leaders of the RDA in Dakar, replied by announcing that they were resolved to violate this decree, and would organize mobs in the streets. The police and gendarmerie handled the situation efficiently and quietly. As far as is known there were no incidents of any description on that day. If the program had taken place there would undoubtedly have been trouble of some kind.

On April 13, the RDJA (Rassemblement Democratique des Jeunesse Africaines), the communist youth group, held a meeting to plan for demonstrations to be held the following day to commemorate the 19th anniversary of the Spanish Republic. (Apparently any pretext justifies a manifestation). Also on April 13, the acting High Commissioner issued a decree forbidding public meetings of this type. It provided that the various services of public order would enforce the terms of the decree. In spite of the decree a group of less than 100 gathered and blocked three of the principal streets in Dakar the evening of April 14. The police arrested 8 persons including N'DIAYE MAMADOU, President of the RDJA, and M. and Mme CAUCHE, active brains of the RDJA. CAUCHE is a white man who was formerly a colonial administrator.

The judge concerned dismissed the case and released the eight almost immediately. The Government apparently gave this matter further thought and had the eight re-arrested on April 17, to be held for trial.

In February the C.P. proposed to send a Delegation of Metropolitan girls to Ivory Coast, so that there might be eye witnesses to the brutality of the "Colonialists" toward the natives of the Ivory Coast. The members of the RDA were invited to pay a special levy of 50 Frs. C.F.A. each to cover the cost of the trip.

Nothing more has been heard of this project, - or when it will take place. There is no doubt that a fine show would be put on for their benefit, and since the party is to be composed of young impressionable girls, the project has a number of nefarious possibilities.

B. Further reaction to the  
verdicts in the trial in the "Affaire  
d' Treichville"

Since the preparation of Despatch #92 of April 11, 1950 additional information has become available which confirms the general comments at the end of that despatch, regarding the weakness of the prosecution and the fact that the trial furnished

much fine material for communist propaganda. In addition to points already developed in Despatch #92. The following additional points are mentioned as representative of the Government's vulnerability:

DENISE, prominent RDA leader and parliamentarian of Ivory Coast (however, he lost his position as President of the "Conseil General" in a recent election within that body) said at Treichville on March 27,:

"The results of the trial constitute a victory for the RDA for we fully expected that our comrades would be sentenced to 15 to 20 years in prison. In fact 22 of them (sic. He probably included suspended sentences) were acquitted. The others will be liberated shortly because the judgement will be reversed."

D'ARBOUSSIER in a recent article in "ALVEIL" said:

"Let us rejoice because the trial at Bassam has placed in evidence how badly founded were the complaints against our comrades. Thanks to the magistrate for having displayed equity. Let us express our indignation at the political methods which permitted the trial to take place, - from here on let us continue the struggle---."

There is said to be considerable rejoicing generally among the RDA propagandists over the damages allowed by the Court for destruction of goods and property. Prior to the trial the administration had advanced nearly 3 million CFA Francs to facilitate reconstruction of houses etc. The Court allowed only 892,000FRs. The officials who approved these advances are said not to be sleeping too well these days.

### III. SUMMARY

It is increasingly apparent that the RDA of F.W.A. is actively and willingly at the orders of the Communist Party of France, and through it of the Comintern, and that some direct liaison exists between the RDA and Moscow itself.

After having commenced operations by infiltration into existing organizations, notably the Congress at Bamako, October 1946 the communists are now concentrating on the lowest ranks of society with revised, as far as Africa is concerned, but familiar techniques. Organization is being perfected. The total membership of the RDA remains a mystery. Writers in "HUMANITE" claim as much as one million. The defense counsel in the trials at Abidjan referred to 70,000 members. Whatever the number, the RDA remains the largest single party in F.W.A. and is actively engaged in creating ferment. Faced with this, the Government displays general weakness and only partial ability to follow the machinations in this vast area of poor communications.

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Perry N. Jester  
American Consul General

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CONFIDENTIAL

JUN 16 1950

Henry R. Darrow, Esquire,  
American Consul General,  
Dakar, French West Africa.

Dear

The Department is pleased to inform you that the Consulate General's despatch No. 110 of April 19, 1950, "Communist Developments in French West Africa", prepared by Consul William B. Harland, Jr., has been rated EXCELLENT.

Mr. Harland is commended for the preparation of this despatch which has been commented upon by the Division of Research for West and Africa of the Department as follows:

"This report constitutes a valuable addition to the Department's knowledge of Communist operations in West Africa. Further information will be welcomed, as it becomes available, on all phases of DIA activity, such as future successes of DIA efforts to cut across tribal lines in their political organization, their further successes in infiltrating Islamic organizations and utilizing them and their leaders for Communist purposes, and DIA successes in acquiring and utilizing other forms of Communist front organizations. The careful organization, with which this and each of the present series of political reports from Dakar is presented, increases the accessibility of the information presented in the report, and is greatly appreciated."

It will be appreciated if you will bring this commendation, which has been made a part of the reporting officer's performance record, to the attention of Mr. Harland.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State

DDR - 1 - Unit

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cc: [unclear]

COMMENT CHECKED IN FR: *WEC*

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*By*  
Richard P. Bissell  
Director General of the Foreign Service

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TO : Department of State

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FROM : DAKAR # 125

MAY 4, 1950

MAY 4, 1950

REF : CONGEN DESPATCH 110, APRIL 19, 1950.

SUBJECT : COMMUNIST PARTY PRESS

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The new Communist (RDA) newspaper "DEMOCRATE" published in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, is taking an extreme violent line, obviously Cominform inspired, of direct agitation. It appears to be laying the groundwork for more violent demonstrations in the Ivory Coast, as well as for anti-American activity by building up a case to prove that the "American stooges, the French Colonialist" are in fact nothing but the heirs of Hitler Naziism.

In its issue of April 19, 1950, "DEMOCRATE" published an article entitled "Hitlerian atrocities at Antan." The article recited the measures taken by the Germans in an attempt to stamp out resistance: mass execution of hostages, mass arrests, deportations etc., and that these repressive acts were taken everywhere-- "in an effort to terrorize and to make submissive the free peoples of Europe. These efforts, far from succeeding, encountered resistance which grew steadily.

"The resistance took many forms. Sometimes it was secret sabotage which went from cutting nazi tires to putting bombs in war factories working for the Axis. Sometimes the workers "spoiled" their tools, functionaries "lost" their papers, railroad men "forgot" to change the signals.

"The Germans published---threats, menaces ---etc --- but the resistance showed no signs of relaxing."

The article then put in large letters:

"Where is the change ? "

followed by:

"Think it over always, work always for the defeat of the forces that would make a race of slaves out of free men. "

In another article the paper recounted Nazi-atrocities against babies and other members of the civilian population, and ended in large letters with:

"That was War. Today it is Peace. Where is the change ? "

*W. D. Moreland Jr./ms*  
William D. Moreland Jr./ms  
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The articles carefully avoided the words but, in the light of recent events in Ivory Coast and the Communist interpretation of them, left no doubt in the readers mind that the French administration was being likened to the Nazi invaders of Europe; and that the people were being called upon to perform acts of sabotage on the pattern of the French wartime resistance.

In some quarters it is considered to be strange that the Government of French West Africa permitted this newspaper to be founded and to continue publication. It is considered equally strange that the newspaper "L'A.O.F." organ of the Socialist (S.F.I.O) Party in F.W.A., which is the party of the High Commissioner, M. Paul Bechard, and of the leading non-RDA politicians and officials, carries a Marxian flavor.

The Political Director of "L'A.O.F.", Lamine Gueye, is the Deputy and Mayor of Dakar, and is perhaps the most powerful native African politician in F.W.A. M. Bechard associates him with himself whenever possible in public acts and ceremonies and in parliamentary activities. "L'A.O.F." is understood to be under the personal guidance of M. Bechard in all policy matters and to furnish the medium for his trial balloons.

In its issue of May 1, 1950 (copy enclosed), "L'A.O.F." carried a quotation in large letters in its top left front page position which reads:

"The emancipation of the workers will be the accomplishment of the workers themselves - Karl Marx."

This happens to be the same quotation which has recently been used by Communist leaders in both France and F.W.A. in urging the African natives to take matters into their hands in settling their grievances and which was partially responsible for the troubles in Ivory Coast in January.

This newspaper likewise takes a very mild stand, or often none at all, on the growth of Communism through the RDA Party in F.W.A. Other non-Communist newspapers of the Federation take a clear and strong anti-Communist position. In one article, that of M. Seye, reference is made to the "ennemis of our liberties and the knaves of the Cominform---" but they are not otherwise identified.

It has been said in confidential quarters that the High Commissioner, both in his administrative position, and as honorary Chief of the Socialist (S.F.I.O.) Party in F.W.A., has maintained a policy of not offending or antagonizing the Communist controlled parties in the area.

If this is true, it would account for the virtually unmolested virulence of the Communist newspapers (REVEIL of Dakar, DEMOCRATE of Abidjan, SUD of Bamako) and the mild tone and Marxist flavor of L'A.O.F.

*Euc.att.  
gwm*  
350.21

  
Perry N. Jester  
American Consul General

FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

SECURITY: UNCLASSIFIED

PRIORITY: AIR POUCH

TO: Department of State

FROM: DAKAR # 135 MAY 11, 1950.

RE: *Collected*

SUBJECT: ANTI-AMERICAN COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

There is transmitted below a translation of an article entitled "American Penetration" which appeared in the communist inspired newspaper REVEIL for Monday, May 8, 1950.

This article is a part of a series of articles which has been running in this paper regarding the political situation in the Cameroun. The Cameroun is in the Paris Consular District, but REVEIL is circulated widely throughout French West Africa.

The theme of the article, namely that American penetration of Africa is being accomplished under cover of the Protestant Missions, is one that a great many non Communist Frenchmen are inclined to believe. Although these Frenchmen do not believe all they read in REVEIL it has been observed that they frequently will read and believe some of the propaganda that REVEIL launches.

Translation of the article entitled

AMERICAN PENETRATION (in Cameroun)

which appeared in REVEIL, May 8, 1950

"American penetration is accomplished without any difficulty under cover of the Presbyterian Mission. This Mission possesses important scholastic establishments and very well equipped medical centers. It operates at Elat (Ebolewa) a printing plant which is one of the best equipped, if not the best equipped, of the territory. It has numerous missionary stations and a large staff. It was the first to establish a secondary educational institution in the Cameroun (Institut des Missions Evangéliques). It can now be considered that certain American evangelists are in a very good position to play the role of diplomats. The very frequent comings and goings of certain of them are an indication of this prospect. They have forwarding transit services in two ports of South Cameroun, Douala and Kribi.

"The mysterious assassination of Mrs. Cozzens, wife of an American engineer of the Presbyterian Mission is interpreted in

*Moreland*  
William D. Moreland, Jr./ms

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authorized political circles as a consequence of the relations which the victim maintained with the United Nations.

“The presence of an American elite in the territory cannot fail to serve as a bridgehead for the execution of plans in preparation for the third World War or to facilitate economic seizure by American imperialism. The American missionaries do not conduct an open campaign against our movement although they are hostile to us.”

Parry N. Lester  
American Consul General.

350.21

gwm

## FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

SECURITY: RESTRICTED

PRIORITY: AIR POUCH

LSC  
LSPR  
JRL  
For Dept. use only.

TO: Department of State (ANE)

NEA  
MESSAGE CENTER MAY 18 1950

FROM: DAKAR 141 MAY 15, 1950

REF:

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE ENTRY OF COMMUNIST LITERATURE INTO LIBERIA FROM FRENCH WEST AFRICA.

When I was in Liberia in the latter part of March of this year, I learned that occasionally some Communist literature is found at the Firestone Plantations. It is not known how the literature arrives there, but it is believed to come in from surrounding French territory. There are a number of natives employed on the Plantations who come from French Guinea and the Ivory Coast. There are also native traders who come across the border from the same territories.

There is attached as an example a copy of a booklet entitled "Les Sciences Naturelles en URSS Depuis 25 Ans", which was found by the wife of one of the officials of Firestone Plantations in the Club House at Harbel. She immediately sequestered the publications and gave it to me upon my request.

The publication itself is not remarkable; it is a very mild presentation of Communist propaganda in connection with the sciences. It might, however, be the kind of thing that would be used as a wedge opener. It is being forwarded merely as a matter of interest to ANE.

RECEIVED  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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DC/R  
RECORDS BRANCHPerry W. Jester  
American Consul General

Enclosure: One copy booklet "Les Sciences Naturelles en URSS Depuis 25 Ans". (French text).

PNJester:rs

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The action office must return this permanent record copy to DC/R files with an endorsement of action taken.

A. E. FERSMAN

de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S.

LES  
**SCIENCES NATURELLES**  
EN U.R.S.S.  
**DEPUIS 25 ANS**

EDITIONS FRANCE-U.R.S.S.

PRIX : 10 Fr.

A. E. FERSMAN  
*de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S.*

**Les  
Sciences Naturelles  
en U.R.S.S.  
depuis 25 ans**

EDITIONS FRANCE-U.R.S.S.

La science s'appelle la science précisément parce qu'elle ne reconnaît pas les bêtises, parce qu'elle ne craint pas de poser la main sur les choses qui ont fait leur temps, qui sont vieilles, parce qu'elle porte une oreille attentive à la voix de l'expérience, de la pratique.

Staline. *Discours prononcé à la première conférence des stakhanovistes de l'U.R.S.S.*

« Notre pays, avec sa pratique et ses idéals révolutionnaires, où on lutte contre toute routine et toute stagnation, le penseur, est un milieu favorable, entre autres à l'épanouissement des sciences. »

Staline. *Des jeunes communistes*

Il est bien difficile d'être un bon historien de son temps. Car on ne peut s'abstraire de son époque pour considérer certaines parties d'un passé vécu qui tout récemment encore était le présent, pour embrasser par le regard et le monde et la vie, de hauteurs d'où ne se distinguent plus les détails, les éléments fortunés de la nature ou de l'existence ; d'où l'on ne voit se détacher que les traits essentiels des événements d'une époque.

Il est d'autant plus difficile d'écrire ces pages sur un sujet aussi important que les sciences naturelles en U.R.S.S. depuis un quart de siècle ; car c'est, dans l'histoire de la science, toute une étape qui, par l'éclat des victoires remportées, n'a eu d'égale dans aucun pays, dans aucun siècle, chez aucun peuple.

Hommes de science, contemporains de l'époque de Lénine et de Staline à laquelle nous avons apporté notre contribution, nous avons éprouvé, en suivant les voies de cette science nouvelle, soviétique, la joie profonde de prendre de la main une connaissance véritablement scientifique et de l'utiliser efficacement pour le campéum.

## I. Ampleur de l'Œuvre Scientifique

Pour caractériser l'essor de l'activité scientifique dans notre pays, arrêtons-nous tout d'abord au témoignage objectif de quelques chiffres, à l'analyse comparée des données statistiques, si sèches soient-elles.

En 1915, on ne comptait dans toute la Russie tsariste que de 120 à 150 centres de recherches scientifiques, pour la plupart simples cabinets scientifiques rattachés à 10 Universités et à quelques écoles techniques supérieures et musées d'Académie. Or, sous le régime soviétique, le nombre des instituts scientifiques proprement dits a atteint 2.256, 570 d'entre eux étant spécialisés dans les sciences techniques ; 452 dans les sciences naturelles et les mathématiques ; 399 dans l'agriculture et les branches scientifiques qui s'y rattachent, et 450 environ se livrant à l'étude des problèmes médicaux.

Aujourd'hui, le contingent des travailleurs de la science dépasse 40.000. En ces 25 années, la seule Académie des Sciences a porté le nombre de ses collaborateurs scientifiques à 4 000 : ils étaient 95 avant la Révolution et les a groupés dans 152 instituts scientifiques ; elle a en outre organisé 10 filiales et bases en province (1). Si l'y avait dans la Russie tsariste quelques centres scientifiques rattachés aux grandes cités, la science a fleuri depuis dans des centaines de villes et s'est largement répandue sur toute la surface du pays des Soviets.

Dans cette extension prodigieuse du réseau des centres de recherches scientifiques, les instituts, les laboratoires et les stations de recherches scientifiques pour l'étude des questions relatives aux sciences naturelles et physico-mathématiques occupent la première place.

Et cet essor particulièrement sensible dans les domaines du savoir dont les succès se répercutent sur l'industrie, l'agriculture et la médecine, se trouve reflété comme en un miroir par l'accroissement rapide du nombre des collaborateurs de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S. Ainsi, il y a 25 ans, à l'Académie des Sciences, les savants qui s'occupaient des questions de la physique et des mathématiques étaient 52 : ils sont aujourd'hui 217 ; ils

(1) Qui, ne l'oublions pas, comptaient en 1920 27 instituts, 139 laboratoires scientifiques, 9 jardins botaniques, 5 réserves, 7 observatoires, 3.000 collaborateurs et 200 aspirants au professorat.

étaient 2 pour la chimie — ils sont maintenant 367 ; ils étaient 11 pour la géologie, et ils sont 302 ; ils étaient 29 pour la biologie et actuellement ils sont 639.

Chiffres des plus significatifs qui marquent un accroissement variant de 4 à 180 fois plus.

Parallèlement se sont multipliés les établissements d'enseignement supérieur, ces pépinières du savoir. De 90 en 1914-1915, leur nombre est passé à 750 en 1940, avec 600 000 étudiants, tandis qu'à la veille de la première guerre mondiale, le nombre des étudiants dépassait à peine 100 000 pour l'ensemble des hautes écoles de la Russie tsariste. Nous comprenons toute la signification de ces chiffres si nous nous rappelons qu'au seuil de 1940, pour tous les établissements d'enseignement supérieur de 4 grandes puissances d'Europe pris ensemble, le nombre des étudiants ne dépassait pas 270 000.

Les bibliothèques de notre pays comptaient en 1940 145 millions de livres. Notons à ce propos — la comparaison en vaut la peine — que si les 13 plus grandes bibliothèques du monde possédaient ensemble 1,5 milliard de 30 000 000 d'exemplaires, les trois principales bibliothèques soviétiques — la bibliothèque Lénine, la bibliothèque de l'Académie et la bibliothèque publique de Léningrad — possèdent chacune environ 10 000 000 de livres. Pour les dernières années qui ont précédé cette guerre, la production libraire oscillait autour de 40 000 ouvrages par an, avec un tirage total de 8 fois supérieur à celui de 1913.

Et il est intéressant de noter qu'au moins 56 % de ces ouvrages traitent de la technique, de l'agriculture, des sciences naturelles et des mathématiques.

Dans l'année qui précéda la guerre, l'Académie des Sciences apparut comme le centre de publication scientifique le plus important du monde ; elle publia à elle seule 10 000 feuilles d'imprimés scientifiques, dont près des trois quarts avaient trait aux sciences naturelles et physico-mathématiques.

Les chiffres attestent un essor prodigieux des énergies créatrices ; ils disent le formidable développement des recherches scientifiques en U.R.S.S., surtout de celles qui se rattachent étroitement au progrès de l'industrie et de l'agriculture, et aussi à la protection de la santé publique. Ils prouvent en outre que la science pénètre partout : il suffit de rappeler qu'il a été créé 14 établissements d'enseignement supérieur dans la République soviétique socialiste

de Kazakhs, 26 dans la R.S.S. d'Ouzbékie, 16 dans la R.S.S. de Géorgie, 19 dans la R.S.S. de Biélorussie, etc.

Mais quelque remarquables qu'ils soient, ils ne suffisent pas à nous révéler la nature et toute l'ampleur de la révolution qui s'est opérée dans la science, dans son organisation, dans l'œuvre scientifique accomplie par notre grand pays des Soviets.

## 2. Les Sciences Naturelles avant la Révolution

Mais ce serait commettre une faute énorme que de sous-estimer l'héritage de ceux dont les noms brillent dans les fastes de la science russe d'avant la Révolution. Dokoutcharev et Sétchénov, Lobatchevski et Tchelivchenov, Guess et Tablotchkov, Zimme et Boulérov, Mendéléev et Fédorov ont été à l'origine des courants entièrement nouveaux dans la science. Timiriazev et Karpinski, Pavlov et Kournakov, s'ils furent nos contemporains, n'en ont pas moins grandi et travaillé une bonne part de leur vie dans l'ancienne Russie tsariste. Beaucoup de ces grands noms sont inscrits au tableau de la science universelle ; bien d'autres, oubliés, seront remis à jour quand l'histoire sera l'analyse de la science russe dans le passé. Mais que tous ces hommes étaient peu en harmonie avec leur ambiance ! De combien de luttes et de protestations est faite leur activité bouillonnante, exercée en dépit du monde bureaucratique qui les entourait : curateurs régionaux, recteurs d'université nommés, ministres de l'Instruction publique !

Dans la Russie tsariste, la science se développait presque exclusivement dans les cabinets des Universités et de quelques rares établissements supérieurs, techniques et médicaux. Constantement opprimée par le régime ministériel et policier et par la censure, elle était par contre soutenue et ranimée d'en bas par l'élan impulsif de la jeunesse avancée des écoles, fidèle interprète des protestations contre le régime monarchique réactionnaire qui enchainait la pensée scientifique, lutteur toujours au service de l'aspiration révolutionnaire.

C'est dans les laboratoires d'étudiants des écoles supérieures que Timiriazev trouvait son « climat » ; dans les cabinets d'un Institut des mines que Karpinski se sentait revivre, comme il disait, à la science créatrice ; la encore que la parole autorisée, acerbe

et sarcastique de Mendéléev suscitait chez les jeunes auditeurs avides de vérité de nouveaux élans et de nouvelles recherches. Mais il n'y avait pas une organisation de la science, qui était tout au plus tolérée comme un appendice nécessaire de la machine d'Etat. Il y avait bien une Académie impériale des Sciences, aréopage d'académiciens, véritables pontifes de la science, dont le « très auguste » président était désigné par le souverain. Mais la science, elle, se développait dans le pays en dépit du régime et en dépit du pouvoir. En Russie, des hommes de talent, même dans les conditions qui leur étaient faites, s'affirmaient comme des coryphées de la pensée scientifique. Mais ils restaient des isolés. Pourtant, comme chez le docteur Stockman d'Ibsen, leur âme restait forte dans la lutte courageuse qu'ils menaient contre les bureaucraties sans entrailles des ministères. Que la science pût être précieuse à l'Etat, c'était là une idée étrangère à l'autocratie ; le régime tsariste redoutait toute initiative et le prestige des savants amoureux de liberté. Plus loin, Messieurs, plus loin de la vie et de ses exigences ! Plus loin de la nature et des dangereuses idées du matérialisme et du darwinisme ! Mieux vaut se réfugier dans les lointaines époques du monde antique de la Grèce et de Rome !

Quelques sociétés scientifiques auprès des hautes écoles, les grandes associations de géographes dans les capitales et en province, et surtout les congrès de naturalistes et de médecins, autorisés par le pouvoir tsariste après mille difficultés, étaient seuls à montrer combien de pousses vivantes, aspirant à la lumière, perçaient malgré les conditions si dures d'une ambiance hostile. Des voix hardies s'y faisaient entendre : I. Pavlov s'élevait brillamment contre l'idéalisme et le vitalisme ; Morozov, qui passa plus de vingt ans enfermé dans la forteresse de Schlusselbourg, énonçait des idées nouvelles, matérialistes, du système périodique des substances. Kessler popularisait les déductions scientifiques du darwinisme, alors en interdit. Timiriazev donnait en des cours privés ses remarquables conférences : les amphithéâtres étaient bondés aux conférences inaugurales de A. Pavlov sur la géologie ; les communications, pleines d'aperçus profonds, du biologiste darwiniste Mensbir passionnaient les auditeurs de différentes facultés venus pour l'entendre. Et tout cela attirait les forces jeunes vers la parole vivante, la parole de vérité ; tout cela éveillait la pensée et conviait aux élans révolutionnaires.

Dans les écoles secondaires, les sciences naturelles, à l'exception

tion de la physique et d'une sèche cosmographie mathématique, étaient alors complètement bannies du programme. La géographie consistait en une énumération fastidieuse d'îles, de presqu'îles, de caps et de villes difficiles à retenir ; les phénomènes naturels et économiques et l'œuvre de l'homme étaient deux mondes indépendants l'un de l'autre. Tout paraissait soumis à des lois fortuites, venant d'en haut ; les phénomènes naturels existaient par eux-mêmes. La tendance descriptive, un empirisme grossier étranger à toute synthèse philosophique, régnait dans les sciences naturelles.

Et malgré tout, par une sourde lutte souterraine, les pousses d'idées scientifiques avancées perçaient à la lumière. Elles levait dans les sociétés universitaires ou les cercles d'étudiants ; elles croissaient autour de certains noms lumineux qu'auréolait la lutte menée contre le régime tsariste, pour la liberté de la science.

La grande Révolution socialiste d'octobre 1917 est venue clore ces pages du passé. Elle a ouvert de larges perspectives aux sciences naturelles en brisant le caractère de caste de la science tsariste, qu'elle a remplacée par la science d'une époque nouvelle, où tout est nouveau : le style, les idées et les méthodes de travail.

Et tandis que la révolution - dans la situation si difficile où se trouvait alors le pays : ruine, occupation, contre-révolution et blocus --- extirpait les anciennes formes d'économie et de vie, tandis qu'elle anéantissait le bureaucratisme et le régime féodal des gros propriétaires fonciers, qu'elle anéantissait impitoyablement tout ce qui se rattachait au régime desséchant du tsarisme, tout était mis en œuvre pour conserver la vieille science, ses spécialistes, ses grands savants, les pépinières de la pensée scientifique, et cela en dépit de leur mentalité et souvent même malgré leurs idées restées celles d'avant la Révolution. Les sciences naturelles nouvelles, soviétiques, ne sont pas nées de la cendre du passé, elles se sont développées grâce au soin attentif et avisé avec lequel ont été cultivées les meilleures traditions, grâce aussi à l'élevation d'importantes forces scientifiques, même si pendant les premières années, elles avaient manifesté leur hostilité au pouvoir soviétique. La science a grandi grâce à une sollicitude réfléchie pour tout ce qui promettait de transformer le passé en un nouveau courant de la pensée libre et vigoureuse.

Ainsi, au cours d'un processus de sélection profonde, les meilleures pousses des sciences naturelles se sont mises à croître sur un sol nouveau. Et dans ce processus s'est manifestée la sagesse

profonde de l'époque leniniste, que n'ont pas oubliée ceux à qui il fut donné, aux années si difficiles du rétablissement du pays, d'entendre de la bouche de Lénine et de ses authentiques compagnons d'armes, des paroles de sollicitude agissante pour les savants russes et la science russe.

### 3. Ce qui distingue la Science Nouvelle

Ce n'est pas d'emblée ni sans lutte qu'à l'époque soviétique les sciences naturelles se sont engagées dans des voies nouvelles, ont abordé les tâches nouvelles qui se posaient au pays. La conception marxiste du monde exigeait de la science qu'elle fut non pas un but en soi — la science pour la science — mais une activité créatrice : elle ne devait plus se borner à décrire le monde, ni même à l'expliquer ; elle devait le transformer activement, efficacement, le soumettre à sa volonté. Et cette thèse, avec ses conclusions et ses méthodes, a déterminé les voies nouvelles désormais suivies par les sciences de la nature, leur a conféré une signification plus profonde, leur a assigné des buts ; elle éclaire d'un sens nouveau leurs buts et leurs tâches, et groupe tous les courants de la pensée scientifique en une idée unique. Les traits nouveaux qui distinguent aujourd'hui la science en ont transformé toute la structure, toute l'organisation et la méthodologie, et ont graduellement élaboré cet aspect du travail scientifique qui est, au fond, à l'image de toute l'époque de Lénine et de Staline.

Voyons donc quels sont ces traits caractéristiques nouveaux des sciences naturelles en U.R.S.S., puis analysons-les brièvement :

1. La recherche scientifique est collective, le rôle de la collectivité et celui du savant qui la dirige se complétant harmonieusement.

2. La vieille et la nouvelle génération collaborent à l'effort créateur où le respect des traditions scientifiques les plus précieuses de la science du passé s'allie à la hardiesse révolutionnaire et à la suppression de tout ce qui a fait son temps.

3. Les différentes disciplines scientifiques sont intimement rattachées les unes aux autres en une interpénétration féconde. Les méthodes véritablement scientifiques des mathématiques sont appliquées à tous les domaines des sciences naturelles.

4. L'audace des synthèses théoriques nouvelles va de pair

avec le rassemblement patient et scrupuleux des faits, qui sont classés, systématisés et analysés.

5. La science est devenue active, agissante, caractère nouveau qui a remplacé la tendance descriptive et contemplative de la science du passé.

6. L'existence objective des lois profondes qui président à tous les phénomènes naturels dans le temps et dans l'espace est reconnue, ainsi que leur connexion historique, causale et spatiale.

7. La minutie dans l'investigation scientifique se combine à l'approfondissement de chaque question, en même temps que s'affirme le souci de populariser les réalisations de la science, d'en rendre les sommets accessibles aux larges masses des travailleurs.

8. La science nouvelle s'assimile le matérialisme dialectique, conception du monde la plus avancée, qui relie entre eux tous les différents domaines du savoir, et méthode qui permet de prendre une connaissance véritablement scientifique des lois de la nature et de la société humaine.

9. La théorie et la pratique, les déductions abstraites et philosophiques de la science et son application pratique sont indissolublement unies, non pour la forme mais intimement.

10. L'importance que comporte pour l'Etat tout entier les sciences naturelles - base scientifique du développement de l'industrie, de l'économie rurale et de la culture -- est reconnue en U.R.S.S.

11. L'activité scientifique se développe sur une échelle gigantesque toute nouvelle. La science est organisée par l'Etat. Tout un réseau d'instituts scientifiques autonomes est créé. L'Etat établit le plan du travail scientifique. La science est dans une large mesure décentralisée ; des cadres scientifiques d'un type nouveau s'élaborent.

J'essaierai de faire apparaître au moyen d'exemples ces traits caractéristiques des sciences naturelles en U.R.S.S., de montrer leur rôle et leur importance aussi bien dans le processus général du progrès de la science que dans sa mise au service de la société humaine et de l'Etat socialiste.

1. *Les recherches scientifiques sont collectives, le rôle de la collectivité et celui du savant qui la dirige se complétant harmonieusement.*

Nous avons observé, au cours de ces 25 dernières années surtout, que l'étude de certains problèmes n'a jamais été aussi effective

que lorsque autour du chef reconnu de certains courants scientifiques sont venues se grouper des collectivités entières. Rappelons-nous l'école de jeunes physiologues qui s'est constituée autour de I. Pavlov dans les deux instituts scientifiques organisés par lui. Ou encore l'école de Kournakov qui a joué dans le domaine de la chimie un rôle exceptionnel, car ses nouvelles méthodes d'analyse physico-chimique ont groupé de nombreuses énergies et ont su éclairer d'une même pensée l'étude des problèmes des sels et des métaux, lui donner une même méthode, l'orienter vers un même but. L'école pétrographique de l'académicien Levinson-Lessing et l'école minéralogique de l'académicien Vernadski ont, elles aussi, joué un rôle de premier plan au cours de ces 25 dernières années. C'est d'elles que sont sortis les pétrographes, minéralogistes et géochimistes les plus éminents de notre époque, qui ont su unir à l'analyse scientifico-philosophique l'exactitude dans l'observation et la précision dans l'expérimentation en laboratoire. Autour de l'académicien Ioffé s'est organisée toute une école d'investigateurs de la matière et de ses propriétés électriques ; à l'Institut du Radium les jeunes initiatives ont abordé les problèmes de la radio-activité et de son application dans la technique et l'économie nationale. Et nous constatons à chaque pas que la condition première des succès de toute école scientifique, c'est que celui qui la dirige soit non seulement un grand savant, mais encore le maître et l'organisateur avisé des jeunes groupés autour de lui.

Ce caractère des travaux soviétiques de la dernière période est d'autant plus à noter que les sciences naturelles se développent aujourd'hui dans une ambiance de connaissances scientifiques extrordinairement complexe, et qu'en une année des dizaines de milliers d'articles sont parfois consacrés à telle ou telle question. Pour certaines branches de la science, il existe des milliers de revues différentes ; aussi est-il pratiquement impossible au savant isolé d'embrasser toute une discipline dans son ensemble — et parfois même une de ses branches. D'où la nécessité du travail collectif.

Ce caractère de la science moderne a marqué une nouvelle étape dans l'organisation des recherches scientifiques elles-mêmes. Disparus tous ces pontifes de la science qui, satisfaits d'eux-mêmes, s'enfermaient jadis dans leur coquille de monopoleurs du savoir. La science accessible seulement à quelques élus, la science exposée dans des traités en langue latine que si peu connaissent, cette

science-là est aujourd'hui non seulement inutile mais encore pratiquement impossible. Et les instituts scientifiques autonomes sont là manifestation nécessaire de l'activité scientifique nouvelle.

2. *La vieille et la nouvelle génération collaborent à l'effort créateur où le respect des traditions les plus précieuses de la science du passé s'allie à la hardiesse révolutionnaire et à la suppression de tout ce qui a fait son temps.*

Déjà la thèse précédente nous a fait sentir toute l'importance d'une collaboration féconde entre la vieille et la nouvelle génération. Le rôle (positif ou négatif) de la tradition scientifique d'une part, et celui de la hardiesse révolutionnaire d'autre part, sont d'autant plus considérables aujourd'hui. Rappelons-nous en effet les belles paroles du camarade Staline sur la science avancée

« A l'épanouissement de la science, de celle dont les représentants comprennent la force et la portée des traditions scientifiques établies et les utilisent judicieusement dans l'intérêt de la science, sans pour cela en être les esclaves ; de cette science qui a l'audace et la ferme volonté de briser les vieilles traditions, normes et conceptions lorsque, périmées, elles entravent la marche en avant ; de la science qui sait créer de nouvelles traditions, de nouvelles normes, de nouvelles conceptions... » (1)

Ces paroles montrent bien toute la profondeur, toute la complexité du problème. Respect des traditions scientifiques d'une part ; de l'autre, hardiesse et rupture avec ces traditions lorsqu'elles entravent le développement ultérieur.

Nous avons pu voir, au cours de ces 25 années, les brillants résultats que donne cette manière de poser la question. Nous n'avons pas oublié que longtemps les géologues, fidèles au schéma américain, ont cru à la « pauvreté » du Caucase et de l'Asie centrale en minéraux utiles. D'ordinaire on invoquait, pour corroborer cette idée, la pauvreté des Alpes et l'on expliquait par la jeunesse des processus géologiques l'insuffisance des processus chimiques n'entrant pas une accumulation de minéraux utiles. Mais la science soviétique a renversé ces conceptions vieillies et montré que cette pauvreté n'était qu'apparente. Au contraire, l'histoire géologique du Caucase, si complexe et si riche, a indiqué la voie

(1) Staline, *Discours prononcé à la réception au Kremlin des travailleurs de l'enseignement supérieur, le 17 mai 1938, p. 4, édition russe.*

à suivre et permis de mettre à jour une série de minéraux très spécifiques. Aux richesses essentielles du Caucase — pétrole et manganèse — sont bientôt venus s'ajouter de nombreux gisements de minéraux de plomb, de zinc, de cuivre, d'arsenic, d'antimoine, et même, au cours de ces dernières années, des métaux rares jusque-là inconnus au Caucase : le molybdène et le tungstène.

Les nouveaux problèmes suscités par la mise en valeur du Nord soviétique ont été non moins nombreux lorsqu'on entreprit d'édifier une nouvelle industrie minière dans la presqu'île de Kola. Kirov soulignait hardiment la nécessité de créer cette industrie précisément là, à l'extrême Nord. Et effectivement, les régions où, comme disait Kirov, « nul n'a jamais rien fait » — « troupeau », « les régions de l'oscar » — mais effaroucheuses paraissaient guère propices, dans les années de leur mise en valeur, à la vie et au développement industriel. On croval généralement qu'il y régnait un froid, des vents épouvantables — que floyer y durait 8 mois et les tempêtes de neige des semaines entières ; qu'il était impossible non seulement à l'homme mais encore au bœuf de vivre dans ces contrées ; que jamais vaches ni chevaux ne pourraient s'acclimater dans la presqu'île de Kola. Mais lorsque naquit l'industrie, quand l'appel hardi de Kirov, retentissant « dans les ténèbres de l'ignorance et les ténèbres de la nuit polaire », eût fixé nettement cette tâche : faire de la presqu'île de Kola une base de l'édification socialiste, alors toutes ces vieilles notions commencèrent à se dissiper ; la nature n'offrait rien atroce, ni les tempêtes interminables et la vie, une vie cultivée, reposant sur les formes nouvelles d'économie, se développa rapidement dans ces contrées, faisant surgir des bourgs et des villes magnifiques, et entraînant une augmentation de plus de 30 fois de la population.

Quelle hardiesse ne fallait-il pas à Tsiolkovski, l'instituteur sourd de Kalouga, pour affirmer, à l'encontre des commités officiels du monde de la technique, la possibilité de construire des dirigeables entièrement métalliques ; pour indiquer, élaborer en détail la solution des problèmes les plus complexes de l'aéronautique moderne !

Dans le domaine des sciences naturelles, les idées nouvelles brisent toujours, nécessairement, ce qui est vieilli ; elles doivent lutter contre les traditions routinières, les conceptions périmées, contre l'autorité des idées établies. Une découverte scientifique hardie suppose toujours la lutte et la défense, et nous avons vu la

conquête de la nature et la solution de certains problèmes scientifiques complexes aller nécessairement de pair avec la lutte contre les traditions tenaces du passé.

3. *Les différentes disciplines scientifiques sont intimement rattachées les unes aux autres en une interpénétration féconde. Les méthodes véritablement scientifiques des mathématiques sont appliquées à tous les domaines des sciences naturelles.*

Au cours des 25 ans qui viennent de s'écouler, des transformations profondes sont intervenues dans les sciences de la nature. Des découvertes nouvelles ont renversé les notions établies. Mais c'est aux limites de deux ou de plusieurs branches anciennes de la science que se sont opérées les réalisations les plus importantes et que les perspectives les plus larges se sont ouvertes. Là où les méthodes et les idées d'une science pénètrent dans une autre science, des tendances scientifiques nouvelles sont apparues aux régions-limitrophes, et elles bénéficient de tout l'arsenal des lois et des méthodes des branches voisines.

Ce sont des courants scientifiques nouveaux comme ceux-ci que l'on a vu se manifester nettement dans les sciences naturelles en U.R.S.S. pendant le dernier quart de siècle. C'est en effet dans l'Union Soviétique qu'entre la géologie et la chimie a grandi la géochimie, qui relie les phénomènes physiques de la Terre, objets de la géologie, aux processus chimiques de la permutation et de la combinaison des édifices atomiques. La coopération des sciences physique et chimique a été appelée à jouer dans notre pays un rôle particulièrement important. Tout un domaine de la science classique s'est largement développé : celui de la chimie physique où les questions touchant les phénomènes superficiels de la matière avec leurs applications pratiques sont résolues par les méthodes des deux sciences. En outre, un nouveau courant est apparu chez nous : celui de la *physique chimique*, qui tente, par des méthodes physiques nouvelles, d'analyser des processus chimiques naturel extrêmement complexes, de les décomposer en stades intermédiaires temporaires et instables, jusqu'au moment où ils auront réalisé leur équilibre final.

C'est précisément dans ces domaines nouveaux que les sciences naturelles soviétiques se sont révélées fortes. Oui, associer ce qui jamais encore on n'avait associé sollicitait la pensée des savants soviétiques. Et nous serions souvent bien embarrassés de déterminer la spécialité de tel ou tel d'entre eux. L'académicien Khlopine

n'est-il pas à la fois physicien, chimiste, géologue et investigateur des processus radio-actifs ? L'académicien Vernadski, minéralogiste de génie, est encore chimiste, biologiste, géologue et géochimiste éminent.

De même, nous avons vu naître en Union soviétique l'acrodynamique où se combinent les idées de la physique, les méthodes des mathématiques et les procédés de la technique ; de même s'est créée en U.R.S.S. toute une science de la congélation qui embrasse l'étude des différents aspects de ce phénomène répandu dans notre pays sur une superficie de dix millions de kilomètres carrés.

Mais dans cette pénétration réciproque de certaines sciences, une question requiert plus particulièrement l'attention : celle de l'application des méthodes mathématiques à toutes les branches des sciences de la nature. Avec quelle sagacité profonde l'académicien Kournakov introduit dans les notions chimiques des méthodes purement géométriques, créant de la sorte une topologie chimique particulière ! Et quel rôle n'a pas joué, en géologie, l'application de méthodes rigoureuses et des équations de l'équilibre radio-actif, qui ont permis à nos radiologues de substituer à la succession purement empirique des événements géologiques une chronologie précise qui s'exprime en unités faites de millions d'années. Il n'est pas jusqu'à la géographie descriptive et à sa météorologie où le chiffre ne s'introduise comme paramètre dans toute description des phénomènes naturels.

*4. L'audace des synthèses théoriques nouvelles va de pair avec le rassemblement patient et scrupuleux des faits, qui sont classés, systématisés et analysés.*

C'est là, à notre avis, une des plus grandes réalisations de la science mondiale et aussi l'une de celles qui caractérisent le mieux la science soviétique. Nous savons parfaitement qu'à elle seule la hardiesse de la pensée est loin de pouvoir résoudre les problèmes des sciences naturelles. Certes, c'est l'intuition géniale d'un Lebon qui a signalé le domaine des rayons invisibles de Becquerel d'où est sortie la science moderne de la radio-activité. N'empêche que cette science, avec toute la complexité des notions nouvelles qu'elle apporte sur la structure de la matière et sur l'énergie, n'est pas le produit de l'intuition de Lebon, si brillante soit-elle, et qu'il a fallu pour l'édifier des milliers de recristallisations de sels de radium, des mesures effectuées des dizaines de milliers de fois et qui ont conduit Curie à poser et résoudre correctement ce problème si complexe.

Ce qui prouve une fois de plus que la hardiesse des synthèses scientifiques ne conduit à des résultats réels que lorsque des faits minutieusement rassemblés viennent les étayer, lorsque le savant ne craint pas de consacrer à leur systématisation tout le temps nécessaire, et d'opérer à l'aide de ces faits avec patience et précision. Essayez de pénétrer jusqu'en sa substance même l'ouvrage de Darwin *De l'origine des espèces*, qui fit époque dans les sciences naturelles : vous y trouverez des dizaines de milliers d'observations que pendant des dizaines d'années Darwin avait inscrites sur des fiches qu'il avait classées, triées, comparées et systématisées, rassemblant les preuves à l'appui de ses constructions théoriques.

Chez nous, ce n'est que depuis vingt-cinq ans que les sciences naturelles se sont mises à systématiser les faits. Il est difficile de s'imaginer aujourd'hui qu'avant 1916-1917, nous n'avions pas un seul répertoire des minéraux utiles de notre pays, en dehors du vieux livre de Karpinski, excellent il est vrai, mais trop bref, et qui datait de 1881. En 1916 seulement, l'académicien Vernadski proclama la nécessité de systématiser toutes les données que nous possédions sur les minéraux utiles du pays et sur leurs gîtes, et d'en dresser l'inventaire. Aujourd'hui cette question a donné naissance à une foule de publications scientifiques ; des institutions d'Etat, tel le *Fonds géologique*, s'occupent de rassembler et de systématiser ces données pour chaque région importante de notre pays ; des répertoires spéciaux sont publiés par région, par minéral, par branche d'industrie. Ce n'est, je le répète, qu'au cours de ces vingt-cinq années que l'on a commencé à procéder à une systématisation véritable des données que nous possédons sur nos ressources naturelles. Les volumineuses séries de publications : *Les minéraux de l'U.R.S.S.*, *La flore de l'U.R.S.S.*, *La faune de l'U.R.S.S.*, *Les terrains de l'U.R.S.S.* sont les premières tentatives de systématiser nos connaissances dans ce domaine, de mettre entre les mains des chercheurs et des praticiens la documentation qui leur permet d'élaborer leurs déductions. Et de fait, les conclusions qu'autorise l'immense documentation ainsi rassemblée ont renouvelé la connaissance que nous avions des profondeurs de la terre aussi bien que de sa surface ; elles nous assignent des tâches nouvelles, audacieuses, et nous permettent de corroborer la théorie par des faits.

5. *La science est devenue active, agissante, caractère nouveau qui a remplacé la tendance descriptive et contemplative de la science du passé*

C'est là peut-être aujourd'hui un des principaux stimulants de l'activité scientifique, car les sciences naturelles, cessant d'être « la science pour la science », se sont mises au service de l'édification du pays, ont jeté les fondements de l'économie nationale. Les simples descriptions, les longues colonnes de chiffres statistiques rassemblés autrefois sans aucun but précis, sont donc étudiés aujourd'hui sous un angle nouveau, en vue de tâches déterminées. Nous ne trouvons que peu d'intérêt pratique à l'ancienne météorologie faite des sèches moyennes arithmétiques d'observations effectuées dans des milliers de stations météorologiques. La climatologie, voilà ce qui nous intéresse. Car ses données nous permettraient de prédire le cours du régime climatique et de mettre à profit les pronostics du temps pour l'agriculture, la navigation, l'hydrologie, en temps de paix comme en temps de guerre. Il n'y a pas si longtemps, nos cartes géographiques de minéraux utiles et les descriptions s'y rapportant n'étaient qu'une sèche nomenclature de découvertes que rien n'enchaînait et les signes, dans leur bariolage et la diversité de leurs formes, faisaient songer à quelque mosaïque désordonnée. La documentation accumulée provenait de découvertes fortuites et les descriptions se succédaient dans leur ordre géographique. Cela n'est plus pour nous satisfaire aujourd'hui. Nous voulons comprendre toute la signification des différents points géographiques ; nous voulons en déchiffrer le sens profond et l'ayant déchiffré, créer, grâce à eux, une industrie minière.

*6. L'existence objective des lois profondes qui président à tous les phénomènes naturels dans le temps et dans l'espace est reconnue, ainsi que leur connexion historique, causale et spatiale.*

Déjà l'exemple précédent nous avait conduits à cette thèse. Très longtemps nous avons considéré les points disséminés sans ordre sur les cartes du pays pour y signaler la présence des différents minéraux utiles, comme la manifestation d'un jeu fortuit des forces géologiques très complexes du passé. Et il semblait qu'on ne parviendrait jamais à déchiffrer le dessin de cette mosaïque énigme. On y est arrivé cependant. Tous ces points, des lois qui révèlent la dépendance réciproque ; ils sont déterminés par les lois encore mal connues de la répartition des atomes dans l'univers. Tout un ensemble de nouvelles lois, celles de la géochimie moderne, est venu remplacer les anciennes notions et cartes empiriques. Pour d'être fortuné ces points, en vertu de lois de préférence radicalement au passé géologique et sont liés à une autre nature, une autre analyse.

approfondie permet non seulement de les expliquer, mais encore de les prévoir, d'indiquer les endroits où l'on doit chercher et où l'on trouvera de nouveaux gisements de minéraux utiles. Ces lois de la géochimie moderne, nées dans notre pays au cours des vingt-cinq dernières années, sont l'une des réalisations les plus importantes des sciences naturelles en U.R.S.S.

La certitude que le monde est connaissable est un stimulant essentiel de notre activité scientifique. Notre conception du monde est faite de cette conviction, profondément ancrée en nous, que les processus de la nature obéissent tous à des lois. Certes, nous savons parfaitement aujourd'hui que les grandes lois de la nature ne sont pas les lois des nombres, avec leur rigueur mathématique, leur abstraction de chiffres absous ; les lois de la nature sont l'expression de rapports complexes qui existent réellement dans la nature, de l'enchevêtrement des phénomènes dans le temps et dans l'espace. Les exceptions et dérogations apparentes que l'on y observe sont nécessaires, de même que sont objectivement déterminées par des lois les contradictions inhérentes au monde qui nous entoure, résultat de la lutte des forces d'attraction et de répulsion, des forces positives et négatives, de l'acidité et l'alcalinité ; de la lutte des contraires et de leur combinaison ; de l'intermitence et de la continuité de la matière dans ses métamorphoses.

*7. La minutie dans l'investigation scientifique se combine à l'approfondissement de chaque question, en même temps que s'affirme le souci de populariser les réalisations de la science, d'en rendre les sommets accessibles aux larges masses.*

Guère n'est besoin de justifier cette thèse. Elle est si bien entrée dans nos sciences naturelles, en ce dernier quart de siècle, qu'il serait inutile d'expliquer la nécessité du travail patient et minutieux qu'exige la pénétration des mystères les plus difficiles et les plus embrouillés de l'univers, ou la nécessité de populariser largement les sciences naturelles et d'exposer les résultats des recherches scientifiques sous une forme compréhensible, tangible pour ainsi dire. C'est pourquoi, à côté des théories profondes exposées abstraitemment dans nos écoles théoriques de physique ou de chimie, nous apprécions les beaux ouvrages de popularisation écrits dans une langue limpide, comme la classique *Vie des plantes* de Timiriazev, ou le remarquable répertoire géographique qui s'intitule *Notre patrie*, ou encore les ouvrages parus dans la série *La science amusante*, ou

enfin nos revues d'histoire naturelle : *La science et la vie*, *La Nature*, *Le jeune technicien*, *Le Courier des sciences*, etc.

Populariser les réalisations de la science est l'un des aspects essentiels de l'activité de tout savant au pays des Soviets.

8. On s'assimile le matérialisme dialectique, conception du monde la plus avancée, qui relie entre eux tous les différents domaines du savoir, et méthode qui permet de prendre une connaissance véritablement scientifique des lois de la nature et de la société humaine.

Nous ne nous arrêterons ici ni aux problèmes généraux ni aux méthodes du matérialisme dialectique appliqués aux sciences de la nature ; bornons-nous à dire que les traits caractéristiques qu'il revêt dans ce domaine sont ceux que l'on trouve formulés dans l'ouvrage du camarade Staline *Le matérialisme dialectique et le matérialisme historique* :

a) la nature est considérée comme un tout ; il faut donc étudier les phénomènes dans leur liaison complexe et concrète avec tous les phénomènes environnants ;

b) la nature est considérée comme en état de mouvement perpétuel, de développement ascendant, où tout se transforme et se renouvelle sans interruption ;

c) le processus du développement passe des changements quantitatifs latents à des changements radicaux, qualitatifs (d'un état inférieur à un état supérieur, avec passage incessant de l'état ancien à un état nouveau) ;

d) les phénomènes de la nature impliquent des contradictions internes ; la lutte des contraires est le contenu interne de tout processus de développement.

Au fond, ces thèses sont à la base de toute la conception du monde et des sciences naturelles dans la science moderne avancée. Illustration de la première thèse : la géographie telle que l'école soviétique la conceoit aujourd'hui et qui a répudié les vieilles notions scolastiques et formelles des écoles allemandes pour considérer les phénomènes de la nature ambiante dans toute la complexité de leurs rapports avec la nature elle-même (l'homme qui travaille). Un exemple de la deuxième thèse ? Nos travaux sur la chimie physique, en vue d'introduire cette science dans tous les domaines de l'étude scientifique de la nature, depuis la pédologie jusqu'à la biologie et la physiologie. Un exemple de la troisième thèse ? L'analyse des phénomènes de la vie, des processus du dévelop-

menç biologique de l'organisme ; la théorie des stades due à Lysenko, et toute la complexité des phénomènes de la théorie darwiniste telle que l'édifient et la développent les biologistes soviétiques. Enfin, comme exemple de la quatrième thèse, citons la conception historique des problèmes, qui s'introduit à l'heure actuelle dans tous les domaines des sciences de la nature et étudie les phénomènes dans le temps, par la mise à jour du conflit des forces contraires et des contradictions internes, et dans le développement de l'ancien au nouveau.

Les problèmes philosophiques et les problèmes pratiques qui se posent devant les sciences naturelles sont inséparables les uns des autres. C'est ainsi qu'une large utilisation des processus électriques est impossible sans un tableau philosophique général et sans un tableau physique de ces processus, et la création d'une nouvelle technique dépend de la solution des problèmes fondamentaux de la structure de la matière et de l'élaboration d'un tableau scientifique matérialiste des oscillations électromagnétiques.

*9. La théorie et la pratique, les déductions abstraites et philosophiques de la science et son application pratique sont indissolublement unis, non pas pour la forme, mais intimement.*

Tous les succès remportés par les sciences naturelles d'aujourd'hui, l'importance qu'on s'accorde à leur reconnaître dans notre pays, s'expliquent par leurs résultats pratiques et par les réalisations tangibles auxquelles elles ont abouti dans l'industrie et l'économie nationale.

Sous l'ancien régime, il existait entre la théorie et la pratique un écart profond et des plus néfastes. Cela, dans une certaine mesure, parce que la pratique, trop étroitement subordonnée aux intérêts privés de certains individus ou milieux capitalistes, ne pouvait servir les intérêts du pays dans son ensemble. Mais le régime actuel, en transformant ces rapports, a du même coup assuré l'intérêt général du pays comme but à l'œuvre scientifique. Et nous voyons à chaque pas combien est féconde l'activité scientifique considérée sous cet angle nouveau. Les théories abstraites de la géophysique moderne, qui s'attachent à expliquer la structure de la terre considérée comme corps céleste, acquièrent aujourd'hui toute leur valeur parce qu'appliquées à la recherche de gisements de pétrole et d'autres minéraux utiles ; parce que l'étude du deuxième Bakou et la recherche de nouvelles couches pétrolifères

s'étaient des procédés mathématiques et des notions théoriques les plus approfondies de la géophysique moderne.

L'échantillonnage et la détermination de la composition moyenne des minéraux est une opération très complexe d'une importance capitale, que l'on résoud aujourd'hui à l'aide de formules mathématiques fort compliquées et de la théorie des probabilités. Ici la théorie a poussé la pratique en avant, et la pratique a stimulé la théorie.

On a souvent comparé ce rôle fécondant réciproque de la théorie et de la pratique à des corps en mouvement unis par un ressort. Lorsque ces deux tendances agissent en parfaite harmonie

et alors seulement elles donnent naissance à une théorie profonde permettant de prévoir et assurant de larges réalisations pratiques, et elles fournissent l'une et l'autre des matériaux neufs à une activité scientifique nouvelle.

Il est édifiant, à cet égard, de rappeler comment fut découvert le fameux gisement de potasse de Solikamsk. Comme point de départ, un pronostic théorique : l'analyse des probabilités de l'existence de sels de potasse à l'ouest de l'Oural, étant donné les conditions géologiques très particulières de cette région. La découverte du gisement donna ensuite naissance à la plus grande industrie de potasse du monde, et cette industrie, pour être rationnellement organisée, nécessita des recherches théoriques très compliquées portant sur les équilibres existant dans le système des sels où entrent de nombreux composants. Ainsi, la mise en valeur de Solikamsk et de toutes ses richesses, outre qu'elle a fait naître de nouvelles branches essentielles de l'industrie du temps de paix et aussi de l'industrie du temps de guerre, a inspiré de nouvelles recherches sur les équilibres naturels, et a fourni pour la solution des problèmes théoriques si compliqués de la chimie mathématique une documentation nouvelle.

10. *On reconnaît en U.R.S.S. l'importance que comportent pour l'Etat tout entier les sciences naturelles, base scientifique du développement de l'industrie, de l'économie rurale et de la culture.*

Le développement de la science soviétique est intimement lié aux progrès de l'industrie, de l'économie nationale et de la culture. Voilà pourquoi la science, base d'un développement méthodique de l'économie nationale, est si populaire dans notre pays : pourquoi elle a suscité parmi les masses populaires ce vif intérêt qui les a renouées au plus profond d'elles-mêmes.

Je ne puis m'empêcher de rappeler quelle impression extra-ordinaire produisit sur le grand géologue norvégien Vogt sa rencontre avec un simple tailleur de pierres sur une île de Léningrad, en automne 1925. Nous avions fait stopper notre automobile afin de prendre quelques échantillons de calcaire silurien glauconieux. Un ouvrier occupé au pavage de la chaussée s'intéressa à ce que nous faisions, et quand je lui eus déclaré qu'il avait devant lui l'un des plus grands géologues de Norvège venu en Union soviétique pour la commémoration du bicentenaire de l'Académie des Sciences, il répondit, tout ému par cette rencontre, qu'il suivait avec l'intérêt le plus profond les travaux de l'Académie, et qu'il était heureux de voir un savant venu dans son pays travailler à une œuvre commune. Bien que Vogt ne pût comprendre ces paroles sans interprète, l'air dont elles étaient prononcées se grava à jamais dans sa mémoire, car il disait, bien mieux que tout discours prononcé aux séances solennelles du bicentenaire de l'Académie, qu'en Union soviétique la science était devenue une force sociale prodigieuse.

II. *L'activité scientifique se développe sur une échelle grandiose, toute nouvelle. La science est organisée par l'Etat, tout un réseau d'instituts scientifiques autonomes est créé : l'Etat établit le plan du travail scientifique. La science est décentralisée : des cadres scientifiques d'un type nouveau s'élaborent.*

Il n'est nullement besoin de développer longuement cette thèse. Elle-même énumère les différents aspects du rôle de la science dans l'Etat, rôle dont nous avons déjà parlé. Chacun de ces points a son histoire, chacun a ses réalisations et aussi, ses fautes dans le passé. Tout n'a pas encore été fait, et notre réseau d'instituts de l'Etat et d'instituts industriels est encore insuffisant. Mais les principaux jalons des sciences naturelles et leur organisation sont si bien entrés dans notre conscience, dans la pratique quotidienne même, qu'il serait superflu de vouloir démontrer à qui que ce soit que la voie suivie par la science soviétique est la voie juste.

Mais si profondes, si hardies que soient aujourd'hui les idées dont s'inspirent les sciences naturelles en U.R.S.S., le facteur primordial de leur développement, ce sont les *cadres scientifiques*.

La préparation intelligente de nouveaux cadres dans les sciences physiques et mathématiques notamment a donné d'excellents résultats. Parmi tant d'autres mérites, l'académicien Ioffé a celui d'avoir suscité une très importante école de physiciens sovié-

tiques qui, à leur tour, ont créé de nouvelles pépinières de science physique à Léningrad, Kharkov, Sverdlovsk et dans de nombreuses entreprises industrielles du pays.

La croissance des jeunes cadres dans le domaine des mathématiques a entraîné des résultats non moins heureux : bornons-nous à citer les noms d'académiciens tout jeunes encore comme Sobolev et Kolmogorov. Nous pouvons affirmer que la jeune école des mathématiciens de notre pays est l'une des meilleures du monde.

Les cadres de jeunes chimistes sont moins forts, bien qu'ici également deux grandes écoles aient surgi au cours des vingt-cinq dernières années, celle des académiciens Bach et Froumkine, à l'Institut Karpov, et celle de l'académicien Kournakov à l'Institut de chimie minérale.

Les cadres de géologues sont très nombreux, mais dispersés dans les centres multiples de notre industrie minière, et pas toujours suffisamment en contact avec les deux principales écoles géologiques de l'U.R.S.S. : celle de l'Académie des Sciences dirigée par l'académicien Vernadski, et celle de l'Institut des mines à Léningrad et du TSNIGRI, avec à leur tête les académiciens Karpinski et Fédorov.

Mais ce qui, dans notre pays, présente aujourd'hui le plus d'intérêt, c'est peut-être la préparation de *cadres en vue de cadres*. L'attrait des sciences naturelles pour les jeunes, stimulé par une excellente littérature enfantine, des causeries à la T.S.F., des conférences très nombreuses, ainsi que par différents cercles, se mue en un admirable mouvement qui incite les jeunes esprits à se passionner pour les problèmes des sciences naturelles, à chercher une réponse aux mille questions de la nature environnante, à élargir leur connaissance de la nature et des profondeurs de la terre, leur connaissance de la vie. Les jeunes naturalistes — les petits amis de la nature, les membres des sociétés enfantines de recherches régionalistes, la jeunesse scolaire — voilà de véritables cadres en vue des cadres, qui croissent sous nos yeux et forment la nouvelle, l'admirable génération de l'époque stalinienne, génération pratique, positive, pleine d'initiative, que sa volonté, son désir d'apprendre et de travailler rend forte et qu'enflamme l'amour de son pays natal.

Sa devise n'est pas : savoir pour savoir ; si elle aspire à la connaissance, c'est pour la mettre au service de grandes fins : pour

## 4 Comment sont posés chez nous les Grands Problèmes Théoriques

Henri et Lawrence Bragg ont jeté une lumière nouvelle sur la façon dont il doit être posé dans le cadre de la physique, c'est incontestablement grâce à Mendéléev que son importance chimique et son sens physique profond nous ont été révélés.

L'atome, avec l'énergie qu'il recèle, nous apparaît aujourd'hui comme un système électromagnétique d'une complexité extrême. Dans la conception nouvelle de la constance de la somme totale de la matière et de l'énergie, ce curieux faisceau de forces électromagnétiques se présente à nous sous un aspect nouveau, et le développement des idées s'inspirant de la loi périodique, due au génie de Mendéléev, nous montre les atomes reliés les uns aux autres par les lois uniformes de la physique. Selon les données les plus récentes de la science, l'atome est constitué par un noyau matériel infime qu'entoure un nuage électronique. Le caractère de ce nuage électronique, la répartition et le nombre des points qu'on y compte — condensations d'énergie que nous appelons électrons — déterminent la nature de l'atome, qui, s'il perd une partie de ce nuage, se transforme en ion, unité chargée d'électricité positive ou négative. Et c'est précisément cette particule, avec les charges d'électricité relativement minimes de ses couches périphériques, qui détermine au fond le caractère du monde qui nous entoure. Elle crée un monde qui obéit entièrement aux lois de Mendéléev et qu'en bonne justice, nous devrions qualifier de mendéléevien. Elle crée, dans leur complexité, toutes les combinaisons que l'on rencontre sur la terre et les autres planètes, toute la beauté et la variété du monde vivant.

Le nouveau tableau électromagnétique du monde, outre qu'il pose devant nous des questions nouvelles dans le domaine de la physique, de l'astronomie, de la chimie et de la géologie, fait apparaître des problèmes pratiques extrêmement profonds ; ils nous révèle les lois qui président à la répartition de ces faisceaux électromagnétiques dans l'univers, sur notre planète, dans l'écorce terrestre. Il permet enfin d'aborder la solution du problème de l'énergie atomique, celui de la nature de la matière.

À la solution de ces problèmes essentiels des sciences de la nature se sont attelés les physiciens de la jeune école de l'académicien Ioffé et de l'Institut du Radium. Ce dernier a su non seulement mettre en évidence la diffusion des atomes d'uranium sur le territoire de l'U.R.S.S., mais encore, en s'appuyant sur ses réalisations théoriques, mettre au point des méthodes pratiques permettant

Il existe deux types de géochimie. La géochimie fondamentale, qui étudie les propriétés physico-chimiques des éléments et des éléments combinés, et la géochimie appliquée, qui étudie les rapports entre les éléments et les éléments combinés dans les corps minéraux et dans les corps vivants. La géochimie fondamentale étudie les propriétés physico-chimiques des éléments et des éléments combinés, et la géochimie appliquée étudie les rapports entre les éléments et les éléments combinés dans les corps minéraux et dans les corps vivants.

Le deuxième type de géochimie est la géochimie appliquée. La géochimie appliquée étudie les rapports entre les éléments et les éléments combinés dans les corps minéraux et dans les corps vivants. La géochimie appliquée étudie les rapports entre les éléments et les éléments combinés dans les corps minéraux et dans les corps vivants. La géochimie appliquée étudie les rapports entre les éléments et les éléments combinés dans les corps minéraux et dans les corps vivants.

Ce grand des tâches qui se posent devant la science soviétique sont deux, mais nous devons le second problème, très étudié dans nos pays, celui de la nature de la terre et de l'étoile et cette, de son analyse géochimique et géophysique. Le premier problème considère l'atome en dehors des conditions concrètes de temps et d'espace. Le second, en fonction du milieu géologique ou astrophysique, dans un lieu et un temps bien déterminés. Il étudie le sort des éléments chimiques, à stinks, leur mouvement et leur migration, leur diffusion et leur combinaison dans la situation concrètement étudiée.

Le géochimiste Veinadski et son école géochimique occupent une place éminente dans la science mondiale. Les lois de la répartition des atomes et de leur concentration sont venues expliquer

la mosaïque complexe, bariolée, des cartes géologiques, avec leur accumulation « désordonnée », « fortuite » de signes indiquant la présence de minéraux utiles. La géochimie a rattaché ses synthèses au problème de la matière vivante, et les questions relatives à la concentration de l'atome sur des secteurs déterminés de l'écorce terrestre sont inseparables de l'étude purement pratique des gisements de minéraux utiles qui a été et qui reste à la base de toute l'industrie minière.

Cette conception approfondie de l'atome, et plus particulièrement de ses couches électroniques extérieures, a conduit à un troisième problème important : *l'étude du comportement des atomes et de leurs différentes parties dans le réseau cristallin*. Nous savons aujourd'hui que le monde qui nous entoure est bâti selon les lois très strictes de l'équilibre géométrique, qu'aux nœuds de ces réseaux géométriques d'un genre particulier sont disposés des faisceaux électromagnétiques d'atomes, d'ions ou de leurs groupes ; qu'un cristal est un champ électromagnétique complexe dont il faut étudier le système d'équilibre en s'aidant non seulement des lois de la géométrie et de physique mathématique, mais encore de celles de l'analyse énergétique de ce système. Toutes les propriétés de la matière, à commencer par la couleur et la dureté pour finir par la fusibilité ou la conductibilité, le monde complexe des types de la matière sur lequel repose toute la technique, dépendent de la nature de cette structure de l'équilibre énergétique, si compliquée et d'une régularité géométrique. Tout mélange, aussi infime soit-il, rompt cet équilibre, confère au réseau des qualités nouvelles, le dote parfois de propriétés fort importantes au point de vue technique. Toute une série de brillantes réalisations de l'école de physique de Ioffé, en U.R.S.S., utilisent précisément ces modifications du réseau pour élucider la nature des propriétés mécaniques et électriques de nombreux matériaux.

L'élucidation, sous l'angle énergétique, de ce système cristallin complexe ouvre devant les géologues et les minéralogistes, devant les physiciens et les géophysiciens des horizons absolument nouveaux, et nous pouvons dire, non sans orgueil, que dans sa façon de situer ce problème l'école scientifique soviétique a été un pionnier et un novateur. De la solution de ce problème dépendra le progrès suivant : savoir lui donner l'orientation voulue, savoir créer, en s'appuyant sur les prémisses théoriques, des substances aux propriétés fixées à l'avance, songer à obtenir des métaux

transparents comme le verre, s'appliquer à réaliser les propriétés de la superconductibilité dans des réseaux hétérogènes artificiellement créés, découvrir à la matière de nouvelles propriétés techniques. Etant donné que les notions que nous avons reposent sur les lois formelles de la géométrie, que grâce à ces lois nous pouvons analyser la nature énergétique des systèmes des cristaux, c'est le domaine nouveau de l'analyse mathématique de ces systèmes qui s'ouvre devant nous. Les travaux de Choubnikov, qui se fondent précisément sur l'aspect géométrique du problème ou, comme nous disons, sur la vectorialité de la matière, ont conduit à de brillantes découvertes qui ont permis d'utiliser ces propriétés de la matière pour en disposer à sa guise, les soumettre à son influence, tout comme dans le domaine des phénomènes optiques, le verre polaroïde a su soumettre au rayon polarisé la géométrie du réseau cristallin.

Développant plus avant ces trois principes essentiels qui sont à la base des problèmes scientifiques de la structure de la matière, nous passons à un nouveau domaine, qui se trouve à la limite de la physique et de la chimie, celui du *comportement des atomes dans les parties externes d'un système cristallin*. Il est difficile de prévoir aujourd'hui toute l'importance des conclusions pratiques auxquelles nous aboutirons quand nous nous serons entièrement rendus maîtres de ces domaines limitrophes où les liaisons électriques non saturées possèdent des réserves d'énergie libre, et où la question de l'absorption d'autres substances, ainsi que celle des particularités de structure, conduisent à des propriétés absolument nouvelles du cristal tout entier. C'est chez nous, en U.R.S.S., qu'est née la belle théorie de l'académicien Guédroït sur la capacité d'absorption du sol. Et elle a été le point de départ des idées nouvelles dans la pédologie moderne, considérée désormais sous l'angle physico-chimique ; nous concevons aujourd'hui le sol comme un système complexe, en état d'échange physico-chimique constant avec le milieu qui l'entoure : solutions gazeuses et cellules vivantes.

Les processus d'absorption ne sont possibles que grâce aux propriétés particulières de la structure finement morcelée du sol. Aujourd'hui seulement, à la lumière de nos notions modernes, ils ont non seulement trouvé leur explication, mais encore conduit à une nouvelle théorie, parfaitement cohérente, des sols, théorie élaborée sur la base d'une analyse physico-chimique et radioscopique

rigoureuse, dans la brillante thèse de doctorat du jeune minéralogiste Sedletsaki.

Pour faire apparaître toute la diversité des domaines où les forces des superficies cristallines peuvent trouver leur application, il suffira de signaler une autre orientation, entièrement originale, de la science soviétique, et qui envisage une modification de la dureté, de la solidité d'une substance cristalline, ainsi que la possibilité de les réduire considérablement par l'action d'autres substances. Les travaux de Rebinder dans ce sens ont résolu les questions liées à l'accélération du forage et au débitage des matières cristallines et des produits miniers ; c'est là un résultat pratique de cette théorie.

La science soviétique travaille encore à résoudre d'autres problèmes capitaux. Et parmi eux, *la conquête de l'espace, l'extension du champ d'étude dans l'univers et l'utilisation de ces nouveaux domaines*. D'où la conquête de la stratosphère soviétique, qui nous a révélé de nouvelles propriétés des couches supérieures de l'atmosphère et qui indiquera peut-être des voies nouvelles à l'aviation de demain. D'où aussi l'exploration très poussée des entrailles de la terre, jusqu'à 20-30 kilomètres de profondeur, au moyen de fortes explosions et grâce aux ondes sismiques qu'elles provoquent.

De là l'immense travail de recherche dont le but, depuis 25 ans, est de mieux connaître le pays des Soviets, notre patrie, d'y pénétrer les secrets de la nature sur chaque point, dans tous ses replis et jusqu'à ses périphéries peu accessibles ; d'en déceler toutes les richesses naturelles, au pôle Nord, dans les îles arctiques et les pics élevés du Pamir, aussi bien que dans les dépressions se trouvant à des centaines de mètres au-dessous du niveau de la mer, ou les déserts qui s'étendent sur des millions de kilomètres carrés.

La géographie nouvelle est le résultat de dizaines de milliers de travaux effectués par nos expéditions qui, en sillonnant notre pays dans tous les sens, ont fait les belles découvertes qui ont complètement modifié nos anciennes cartes. Il suffit de se rappeler qu'au nord-ouest de la lointaine Sibérie, où ne s'étendait, croyait-on, que la seule taïga, on a trouvé de très hautes chaînes de montagnes couvertes de neiges éternelles, et que même l'idée qu'on s'était fait de la physionomie de régions toutes voisines de centres comme Léningrad et Moscou s'est sensiblement modifiée. La presqu'île de Kola, avec ses sommets montagneux, nous a donné une vision

jusqu'alors inconnue du paysage polaire, et le désert de l'Asie centrale nous a révélé des réserves prodigieuses de forces productives. La station de l'Elbrouz, sur le glacier Fedchenko, aux sources de grands cours d'eau d'Europe et d'Asie, nos stations polaires en Nouvelle-Zemble, sur les îles Dickson, Wrangel, François-Joseph, enfin la station « Pôle Nord » en dérive nous ont renseignés sur la « glacière » qui détermine tout le régime climatique de l'U.R.S.S. et permet d'élucider une série de problèmes se rattachant à son climat, aux pronostics météorologiques.

L'étude de la matière vivante a enregistré des succès exceptionnels grâce aux travaux qui, dans notre pays, ont enrichi l'œuvre de Darwin. Disons avant tout les réalisations de la biochimie qui ont rendu possibles une analyse chimique et physico-chimique rigoureuse des processus physiologiques de la cellule, ainsi que l'application des méthodes des sciences exactes à la solution de problèmes pour lesquels il n'y avait autrefois que des indices qualitatifs. La nouvelle biochimie créée dans l'essentiel par les travaux de l'académicien Bach, a dégagé une série de grands problèmes théoriques qui établissent de très importantes corrélations entre les substances minérales et la cellule ; elle a en outre abordé une série de tâches urgentes de caractère purement pratique qu'elle a résolues, dans l'industrie alimentaire par exemple, en s'appuyant sur l'analyse théorique.

Mais à côté de cette prise de connaissance physico-chimique de la nature et des processus vitaux, des résultats extrêmement importants ont été acquis, au cours de ces vingt-cinq années, en ce qui concerne la connaissance de l'organisme et de sa cellule. Et Lyssenko avait raison de déclarer, dans les colonnes du *Courrier de l'Académie des Sciences*, que la nature de l'organisme est étonnamment souple et plastique, que ses transformations peuvent s'opérer en l'espace de plusieurs générations, mais aussi artificiellement par l'homme. Partant de cette théorie, que l'on pourrait appeler théorie de « la transformation dirigée de la nature héréditaire des organismes végétaux » : s'appuyant sur l'analyse et la synthèse d'une immense documentation expérimentale, Lyssenko a su non seulement appliquer cette idée aux problèmes pratiques de l'agriculture, mais encore, avec la vernalisation, ouvrir au moyen de l'agronomie scientifique, une étape nouvelle dans cette branche de l'agriculture socialiste. Et cela, en s'inspirant des grandes idées de Darwin, des expériences de l'école de Mitchourine qui, la

première dans l'histoire, a eu la hardiesse de s'insurger contre les vieux préjugés, et d'influer sur la vie des plantes et la formation des espèces par des méthodes audacieuses qui avaient jusque-là semblé impraticables.

Et enfin, le dernier grand problème théorique qui fut posé et à la solution duquel on a travaillé au cours des vingt-cinq dernières années, c'est celui du *comportement de l'organisme et de la conscience*, formulé par I. Pavlov dans ses admirables travaux sur l'activité nerveuse. Le mysticisme et les forces occultes du vitalisme ont, dans ce domaine, cédé la place aux conquêtes positives des sciences naturelles. Appliquées par Pavlov, les nouvelles méthodes d'analyse expérimentale ont été l'extraordinaire instrument qui a permis de comprendre l'activité nerveuse de l'animal et de l'homme. Ces expériences ont fourni une base matérialiste à l'étude du comportement de l'homme, en même temps qu'elles ont rejeté toutes les simplifications mécanistes, tout le schématisme des formules physico-chimiques, simplification grossière qui méconnaît les processus complexes de la conscience.

Ces idées nouvelles n'ont encore trouvé ni leur formulation précise ni leur expression mathématique, mais la voie tracée par Pavlov nous a conduit à placer les processus matériels à la base des phénomènes psychiques, a rendu l'activité nerveuse et le psychisme de l'homme accessible à une solution expérimentale, comme tout autre phénomène de la nature environnante.

Tels sont les sept grands problèmes posés au cours de ces vingt-cinq années, et où la science soviétique a souvent joué le rôle capital, où elle est souvent apparue comme l'initiateur, le pionnier, le hardi novateur qui a renversé les vieilles idées et proposé des méthodes nouvelles, fait apparaître un contenu nouveau.

Mais ce serait, bien entendu, une grosse erreur que d'aller croire qu'en ces vingt-cinq années tous ces problèmes ont été résolus jusqu'au bout. Ils n'ont été que posés ; les premiers principes théoriques en ont été établis ; les premières expériences, les premiers essais effectués ; les voies nouvelles inaugurées. De vastes horizons s'ouvrent aujourd'hui aux sciences de la nature. D'autant plus vastes qu'on a travaillé avec plus d'efficacité à la solution des problèmes qui se posaient, et dont la solution finale ne faisait, semblait-il, que s'éloigner.

Mais il est un point sur lequel tous ces courants restent invariables : c'est dans leur conviction que *le monde est réel et con-*

naissable. Ils ont tous une même base : la conception marxiste du monde. Ils ont foi dans la force de l'homme, dans la pensée scientifique, ils savent que les problèmes qui se posent peuvent être résolus et que le génie humain, outre qu'il en élucidera la nature, saura les utiliser, saura plier à son service les forces prodigieuses de la nature ; apprendra à commander même à l'atome -- force électromagnétique la plus grande du monde et à la cellule, base si complexe de la vie.

## 5. Une Science qui lutte pour développer les Forces Productives

« Les philosophies n'ont fait qu'interpréter le monde, mais il s'agit de le transformer. »

K. Marx.

La première guerre impérialiste, puis un long blocus avaient coupé la Russie d'avant la Révolution, puis à son tour l'Union soviétique, du monde extérieur. Pourtant l'industrie soviétique qui se rétablissait et dont les branches se multipliaient, nécessitait d'énormes quantités de matières brutes, de combustibles, de métal. L'ancienne répartition géographique de l'industrie et des centres de consommation ne correspondait plus ni aux conditions ni aux exigences nouvelles d'un pays indépendant ; force était de s'adresser à des régions nouvelles, de chercher des gisements nouveaux.

Le principe essentiel formulé par Lénine dès 1918, et qui devait guider l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S. dans ses recherches, c'était la nécessité d'édifier l'économie du pays de manière à éviter autant que possible les transports sur de longues distances et à tirer tout le parti que l'on pourrait des matières premières locales. Dans sa fameuse « Esquisse d'un plan des travaux scientifiques et techniques » Lénine énumère les tâches dont il faut charger l'Académie des Sciences « qui a abordé l'étude et la recherche systématiques des forces productives naturelles ». Dès avril 1918, Lénine écrivait que « pour relever la productivité du travail il faut en tout premier lieu assurer une base matérielle à la grosse industrie : forcer la production du combustible, du fer,

développer les constructions mécaniques, l'industrie chimique (1) ».

Notant que notre pays est pourvu des ressources naturelles les plus importantes (mineraux de fer, houille, pétrole, tourbe, bois, énergie hydraulique, matières premières nécessaires à l'industrie chimique, etc.), Lénine signalait que « traiter ces richesses naturelles par les procédés de la technique moderne, entraînerait un essor inouï des forces productives ».

La Révolution d'Octobre a donc créé des conditions nouvelles grâce auxquelles a fleuri comme jamais l'étude des forces productives de notre patrie et qui ont permis leur développement rapide, impétueux, que ne vient plus comprimer une structure capitaliste. Et depuis vingt-cinq ans, ce mot d'ordre essentiel : apprendre à connaître notre patrie et ses richesses, a inspiré l'œuvre immense accomplie par tous nos savants, qu'ils appartiennent à l'Académie des Sciences ou à ces petites cellules qui, dispersées à travers l'Union soviétique, poursuivent inlassablement l'étude du pays. L'industrialisation de l'U.R.S.S., sa reconstruction technique exigeaient que toutes ses richesses naturelles fussent rapidement mises à jour, qu'on procédât à leur analyse géographique et à l'examen de leurs propriétés.

Dans le plan qu'il a ébauché, Lénine a donné plus qu'un stimulant, plus qu'un mot d'ordre pour le déploiement de ce travail ; il a encore posé quelques thèses absolument concrètes et très nettes, plan efficace de l'œuvre à accomplir. Ces thèses se ramenaient, en somme, à 6 points essentiels :

1. Pour toutes les matières premières essentielles et les principaux produits industriels, ravitaillement du pays à ses propres sources : n'être tributaire de personne.

2. Distribution rationnelle de l'industrie : rapprocher des sources de matières premières les régions de consommation, les industries de transformation — grâce à l'étude des forces productives des différentes régions de l'U.R.S.S., à leur mise en valeur et à la division du pays en zones économiques.

3. Large application de l'énergie dans les différentes branches de l'industrie et surtout utilisation des variétés locales de combustible, parfois de qualité inférieure.

4. Utilisation de toutes les variétés de matières premières pour les besoins de l'économie nationale, et application de la technique

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Lénine, *Œuvres*, tome XXII, p. 453, édition russe.

moderne problème élaboré plus en détail par Lénine dans « Les tâches actuelles du pouvoir soviétique » et qui se rattache étroitement aux trois premiers.

5. Utilisation de l'eau et des forces hydrauliques, ainsi que des moteurs aériens, pour satisfaire aux besoins de l'économie nationale. Et enfin,

6. Relèvement général de la technique et de la science, basé sur l'étude et la mise en lumière des forces productives, leur recensement par l'Etat.

Cette énumération suffit à nous montrer que les six points du plan embrassent les problèmes essentiels les plus brûlants de l'économie nationale et de la science dans notre pays.

Voyons brièvement quels ont été les résultats du travail de la science dans chacune des directions indiquées par Lénine :

1. *La nécessité d'assurer à l'Union soviétique ses propres sources de matières premières essentielles et sa production industrielle propre* est aujourd'hui si évidente, chacun en est si persuadé, elle est si bien à la base du développement de toute notre économie nationale qu'il nous est jusqu'à un certain point difficile de nous rendre compte de toute la hardiesse et de toute l'importance qui s'attachaient à cette idée lorsqu'elle fut énoncée en 1918, époque où elle fut considérée par beaucoup comme un rêve irréalisable, une utopie. Disons-nous bien, en effet, que dans la Russie d'avant la Révolution la plus grande partie des instruments de production et même des matières premières pour l'industrie venait de l'étranger. On aura aujourd'hui peine à croire que devant le Grand Théâtre de Moscou la rue était pavée de granit taillé en Suède ; que la simple argile pour les pots de verrier était exclusivement importée d'Allemagne ; que le banal silex pour moulins à boulets venait du Danemark et que c'était le sable de Fontainebleau qui servait à la fabrication du verre blanc.

En 1914, tout au début de la guerre mondiale, on dressa la table des éléments chimiques utilisés par l'industrie en Russie tsariste. Pour quatorze d'entre eux seulement, des gisements avaient été mis à jour dans le pays : tant soit peu suffisants pour quatre, minimes pour six. Les autres substances étaient pour la plupart absolument inconnues ou demandaient encore à être prospectées.

En 1916, l'académicien Vernadski dressa le bilan des ressources minérales de notre pays. Il nota que l'existence de réserves pour 30 espèces de matières premières était établie en Russie, que toutes

d'ailleurs n'étaient pas utilisées. Parmi les gisements dont on mettait en doute l'importance industrielle, il y en avait d'hélium, de potasse, de nickel et de cobalt.

Et aujourd'hui ? Nos gisements de sels potassiques sont les plus importants du monde. Leurs réserves sont 35 fois plus considérables que celles de tous les autres pays pris ensemble. Les « sels de fertilité » des célèbres gisements de Solikamsk suffiraient à engrasser pendant des millénaires tous les champs du monde. On se propose d'ores et déjà d'extraire de l'hélium, gaz précieux pour l'aéronautique, dans une vaste région du bassin de la Petchora où toutes les conditions sont réunies pour la création d'une puissante industrie de l'hélium. Mais les métaux rares non ferreux aujourd'hui indispensables à l'industrie de guerre, tels le cobalt et le nickel, voilà notre véritable conquête ! La découverte de ces métaux dans l'Oural, sur la presqu'île de Kola et dans les régions polaires de la Sibérie nous donne l'assurance que pour le nickel nous occuperons sous peu la deuxième place dans le monde.

Donc, il n'est pas jusqu'à ces minéraux qui en 1916 présentaient les perspectives les moins brillantes, qui ne soient aujourd'hui devenus un puissant instrument du développement de l'économie nationale et du renforcement de la défense de notre pays.

Dès 1932 on savait qu'il existait de gros gisements pour 20 éléments, des gisements suffisants pour 27 ; on ne connaissait pas de réserves pour 6 éléments chimiques seulement, alors que le nombre des éléments utilisés atteignait 60. Il ne restait que très peu de vides dans la liste de Mendéléev : c'était entre autres des substances restées longtemps déficitaires en U.R.S.S. : le bore (et ses sels) et le diamant. La découverte d'importants gisements de bore dans la région ouest du Kazakhstan en 1934 a résolu une fois pour toutes le problème du bore, devant qui s'est ouvert le plus bel avenir : autrefois employé à petites doses dans l'industrie pharmaceutique, c'est aujourd'hui un engrais des plus importants. Nous avons mis en valeur un énorme gisement de bore et nous sommes désormais en mesure de nous passer de l'acide borique importé d'Italie ainsi que des borates du littoral de la mer de Marmara.

Et voilà qu'aujourd'hui nous sommes à la veille de nous subordonner tous les éléments de la table de Mendéléev. Petit à petit nous sommes parvenus à avoir aussi notre diamant ; des groupes de prospecteurs cherchent et trouvent dans l'Oural cette pierre précieuse si nécessaire. Les prémisses théoriques apparaissent

déjà, qui permettront de l'obtenir artificiellement, et l'on emploie avec succès pour le remplacer le carbure de bore. Il ne saurait plus être question aujourd'hui de l'absence ou de l'insuffisance de telle ou telle substance, mais de ses réserves quantitatives, de ses indices qualitatifs et technologiques, des avantages que présente l'emplacement des gîtes.

Bien sûr, la découverte de tout gisement entraîne des recherches technologiques compliquées ; ensuite seulement vient l'exploitation industrielle. Tout n'est pas fait encore : un immense travail d'investigation reste à accomplir : 60 % au moins du territoire de notre pays restent à explorer au point de vue géologique, bien que la route indiquée par Lénine fût clairement tracée et largement ouverte. Les minéraux utiles dont la présence a été décelée en 75.000 points constituent pour le pays un fond de richesses qui demande à être inventorié, exploré, et qui nous révèle des réserves toujours plus prodigieuses enfouies dans les profondeurs.

Nous n'avons jusqu'ici envisagé que le monde minéral, mais nous avons de même remporté des victoires exceptionnelles dans le domaine de la matière brute d'origine végétale ou animale : c'est l'agriculture qui de plus en plus s'avance vers le Nord ; ce sont les produits agricoles obtenus bien au delà du cercle polaire. La théorie des stades de développement, les succès de la vernalisation permettent la création d'espèces nouvelles. Nos régions subtropicales sont mises en valeur. Leurs matières premières tropicales et subtropicales si nécessaires à la fabrication des huiles fines, des produits pharmaceutiques et alimentaires, acquièrent peu à peu une importance industrielle énorme. Par ailleurs, les succès de la chimie qui crée le caoutchouc synthétique ou d'autres produits nouveaux et substitue l'acriquine à la quinine rivalisent de plus en plus d'importance avec les grandes réalisations scientifiques et pratiques auxquelles sont parvenus nos agronomes et nos phytologues, nos botanistes et nos sélectionneurs.

*La seconde tâche qu'assigne le plan de Lénine, c'est la répartition rationnelle de l'industrie dans le pays à proximité des sources de matières premières et en vue de réduire au minimum les pertes de travail qu'entraîne le passage du traitement de la matière brute à tous les stades ultérieurs de fabrication jusqu'à l'obtention du produit semi-ouvré, puis du produit fini. Ce problème d'une importance capitale a été magistralement traité dans le rapport présenté par Molotov au XVIII<sup>e</sup> congrès du Parti. Il repose sur l'idée*

d'une division rationnelle de notre pays en zones économiques, déterminée par les richesses naturelles et les possibilités économiques de chaque république, territoire et région.

Il s'ensuit qu'une étude minutieuse et approfondie de toutes les régions de notre Union soviétique s'imposait pour mettre à jour les richesses locales et assurer une distribution rationnelle et plus ou moins égale de l'industrie. L'effort déployé en ce sens depuis vingt-cinq ans a entraîné sous nos yeux mêmes la prodigieuse métamorphose qui a bouleversé toute la géographie du pays. D'immenses étendues de notre territoire se transforment en centres industriels et culturels nouveaux. Et déjà nous sommes près d'oublier que nous avons assisté aux changements profonds qui ont fait du vieil Oural du Sud, replié sur lui-même, une importante région industrielle. La prodigieuse entreprise de Magnitogorsk, les usines à nickel et métallurgiques d'Orsk, les établissements de Tcheliabinsk — à commencer par l'usine des tracteurs pour finir par celle des ferro-alliages — tout cela a surgi pendant ces années de grandes constructions. Nous oubliions trop souvent que c'est au cours de ces quelques années qu'aux vieilles salines artisanales de Solikamsk se sont substituées des mines de potasse d'une importance mondiale ; que le combinat de Bérezniki, avec toute la gamme de ses productions chimiques, est à l'heure actuelle non seulement grand producteur d'engrais pour nos champs, mais encore un centre d'industries extrêmement variées. Nous assistons à la naissance du second Bakou, c'est-à-dire à une réorganisation totale de l'économie des versants ouest de l'Oural avec leurs exploitations pétrolières toutes nouvelles, leurs gisements de sels de magnésium, de potasse, de sodium et de brome, d'une importance mondiale. Les noms des académiciens Kournakov et Goubkine sont inseparables de ces deux triomphes de la politique économique leniniste-stalinienne.

Grâce à l'initiative et à l'énergie déployées par l'Académie des Sciences, les ressources que déclèlent les étendues sablonneuses de l'Asie centrale nous sont acquises. C'est en 1925 que fut mise en lumière l'importance économique des sables de Karakoum, et depuis lors, l'offensive contre le désert a permis non seulement de créer là-bas d'importantes usines de soufre, mais encore d'y porter la culture, d'en chasser l'ignorance et la barbarie séculaires. Là où, sur les cartes, figuraient des taches blanches les formes soviétiques d'économie ont fait leur apparition. De puissants sovkhoz pour l'élevage du mouton et du chameau transforment en champs les

espaces sablonneux, et désormais la petite maisonnette qui abrite la station de recherches de Répétek commande aux sables qu'elle transforme peu à peu en régions productrices.

C'est avec le concours immédiat de la science soviétique que la région de Kola a été initiée à une vie nouvelle, à l'industrie. L'initiative et l'énergie de Kirov en ont fait un des centres industriels les plus riches de notre pays. On commence seulement à exploiter les 12 minéraux utiles dont les gisements d'une importance colossale feront de la région de Mourmansk une source essentielle non seulement d'engrais phosphatés ou de métaux non ferreux : aluminium, nickel, cuivre, mais encore de métaux extrêmement rares et le fournisseur du monde entier en matériaux réfractaires de très haute qualité.

Un avenir exceptionnel, plein de promesses, se dessine pour les étendues si riches du territoire de la Petchora. Là où il y a deux ans nous avons franchi à grand'peine en automobile 1.000 kilomètres à travers les espaces infinis du Nord, parmi les forêts, les marécages, les cours d'eau et leurs vallées, une ligne de chemin de fer relie aujourd'hui les confins de l'Océan Glacial à l'ensemble du pays. La houille, le pétrole et les sels de radium, les minéraux de fer et différents métaux feront bientôt éclore dans toute cette région une vie d'aisance et de culture.

Mais si grandiose que soit le tableau que nous venons d'évoquer, le vœu de Lénine est encore loin de s'être entièrement réalisé. De gigantesques travaux de recherches restent à accomplir au nord-est de la Sibérie où une superficie de cinq cent mille kilomètres carrés recèle, en or et en métaux non ferreux, des richesses dont l'importance est colossale. Les parties centrales de la grande plaine de la Russie d'Europe sont loin, elles aussi, d'avoir été entièrement explorées. Et il a fallu les forages et prospections géophysiques dernièrement exécutés pour faire un début de lumière sur le mystère de profondeurs situées à un ou deux kilomètres seulement sous l'emplacement même de Moscou.

Le troisième problème posé par Lénine englobe l'électrification de l'industrie et des transports ; l'application de l'électricité à l'agriculture ; l'utilisation de combustibles de qualité inférieure, entraînant l'emploi minimum des moyens de transport ; l'utilisation de l'énergie hydraulique et des moteurs aériens. Ces directives traçaient par avance le tableau de l'énergétique telle qu'elle s'est aujourd'hui déployée en U.R.S.S. ; c'est le schéma de cette

« utopie » électrique dont parlait Wells en 1920, lorsqu'après un entretien avec Lénine il relatait avec stupeur le plan d'électrification du « rêveur du Kremlin ».

« ...Revenez en Russie dans dix ans, et vous verrez ce que nous aurons fait pendant ce laps de temps.. » disait Lénine à Wells.

Et en effet, le plan si hardi de la Commission d'Etat pour l'électrification de la Russie (GOELRO), établi sur l'initiative de Lénine, a été non seulement exécuté mais encore dépassé de plus de trois fois. A l'électrification du pays se rattachent des problèmes extrêmement importants et des branches entières de la science. Pour accomplir ce plan grandiose, aujourd'hui réalisé, il fallait avant tout étudier minutieusement toutes les sources naturelles de combustibles et d'énergie. Il fallait procéder à l'analyse de nos houilles noire, blanche, bleue et rouge ; utiliser les petits cours d'eau, étudier le problème du combustible pulvérulent, envisager l'utilisation des schistes bitumineux avec emploi rationnel de leurs déchets. Alors se sont mises à tourner les turbines du Dniepr, de la Néva et de la Touloma, où se trouve la station hydraulique la plus septentrionale du monde. C'est avec un plein succès que se réalise également l'admirable idée de Lénine sur la gazéification souterraine de la houille. Aujourd'hui des centaines d'usines électriques ont été créées dans le pays, et la « lampe d'Ilich » est devenue familière à tous. Pourtant, les problèmes scientifiques qui se rattachent à l'électrification, à la transmission de l'énergie sur de grandes distances ne sont que posés mais non point résolus. Les vieux moulins à vent ne sont pas remplacés, bien que des ailes nouvelles, aérodynamiques, commencent à se substituer aux anciennes. La turbine, petite mais puissante, remplace déjà la roue grinçante et lente à tourner de l'antique moulin à eaux du paysan. L'effort se poursuit : il s'agit de trouver des procédés nouveaux d'appliquer l'énergie électrique à l'économie nationale. De nombreux problèmes ont été portés, scientifiquement et techniquement parlant, à un niveau très élevé. Mais il faut le dire franchement : plus nombreux encore sont les problèmes nouveaux, les tâches nouvelles que nous aurons à résoudre demain.

Le quatrième problème qui découle du plan de Lénine peut être brièvement caractérisé comme suit : utiliser rationnellement les matières premières locales de qualité inférieure. Dans de nombreu-

des interventions, Lénine est revenu maintes fois au problème de l'utilisation de la matière brute, et toutes ses directives signalaient la nécessité de pousser dans ce domaine à l'application des procédés technologiques nouveaux. La gazéification souterraine préconisée par Lénine suffit à montrer sa compréhension profonde des idées les plus neuves de la technique scientifique. Il y a là une série de problèmes généraux qui orientent la pensée scientifique et la pensée technique, et dont l'élaboration modifie du tout au tout les bases sur lesquelles reposait jusqu'ici l'économie.

Et tout d'abord, comment tirer parti à fond de la matière brute, comment transformer en valeurs pratiques toute la masse des minerais qu'avec tant de peine l'ouvrier arrache à la terre ? Utiliser tous les déchets, tirer parti de la présence des moindres parcelles de matière étrangère, combiner l'emploi des matières premières technologiques, minérales et chimiques : autant de principes sur lesquels repose l'économie soviétique, autant de problèmes qui demandent tout particulièrement à être traités d'une façon scientifique. Disons-le : la tâche est formidable ; il reste ici toute une région vierge, dont la conquête exigera un effort scientifique énorme, un effort créateur, car nous n'avons encore que quelques brillants exemples où la matière minérale remontée du fond donne, après traitement, tout une série de matières premières utiles servant aux productions les plus diverses. Telles les fameuses apatites des monts Khibine, qui, enrichies et traitées, fournissent non seulement un excellent engrais phosphaté, mais encore de la néphéline, matière première de base pour l'obtention de l'aluminium métallique, dont les déchets fournissent à leur tour un minéral de fer riche de deux matières complémentaires servant à la fabrication des alliages d'acier : le titane et le vanadium.

En ce qui concerne l'exploitation de nos matières premières, nous avons fait, au cours de ces années, des progrès énormes. Nous sommes, à proprement parler, déjà habitués aux chiffres prodigieux par lesquels s'expriment nos richesses minérales : potasse, fer et tourbe. Nous avons conquis la première place au monde par nos gisements de fer, de manganèse, d'apatites, de sels de potasse, de pétrole et de tourbe ; la deuxième place pour la houille, le zinc, le plomb, les phosphorites et le nickel, la mine de platine ; la troisième pour le cuivre, la chromite et les schistes combustibles. Nous avons appris depuis un quart de siècle à tirer parti de minéraux utiles qui nous étaient autrefois inconnus. Nous

nous sommes mis à exploiter des substances aussi importantes que les sels de potasse et de magnésium, le strontium, le baryum, le cadmium, l'aluminium, les terres rares, l'indium, le titane, le zirconium, le mésothorium, le vanadium, l'arsenic, le tantale, le molybdène, le wolfram et beaucoup, beaucoup d'autres. Et une fois engagés dans cette voie, nous avons souvent dû utiliser des matières premières absolument nouvelles, mettre au point de nouvelles méthodes de traitement, ouvrir ainsi des voies nouvelles à l'industrie mondiale. Depuis l'établissement du pouvoir soviétique, les réserves connues ont augmenté de 7 fois pour la houille, de 10 fois pour le pétrole, de 133 fois pour le fer, de 32 fois pour le cuivre, de 12 fois pour le zinc.

Mais l'essentiel dans cette conquête des profondeurs de la terre, c'est qu'elle repose sur des solutions technologiques neuves, hardies, qui renversent les anciennes normes-limites d'extraction et ouvrent des perspectives absolument nouvelles dans de nombreux domaines de la science. Un exemple frappant de la mise en valeur de ces richesses éparses, à laquelle les hommes de science d'Occident accordaient si peu d'attention, c'est notre industrie du radium qui extrait aujourd'hui avec rendement économique un gramme de radium métallique de 250.000 tonnes de matière brute ; rappelons que cette même industrie dans le nord du Canada et au Congo belge traite ordinairement de quatre à six tonnes de minerai riche pour obtenir un gramme de radium. Mais les technologues soviétiques ont su triompher d'une dispersion de la matière qui semblait rendre absolument impossible l'utilisation effective des atomes dispersés, dont la proportion dans la masse brute s'exprime par des fractions infimes, par millionièmes pour cent. Pour la métallurgie et la chimie soviétiques de précision, des méthodes nouvelles s'élaborent, qui permettront d'utiliser les minerais pauvres pour lesquels il n'existe pratiquement ni limites ni normes.

Et maintenant, quelques mots sur les deux derniers problèmes formulés par Lénine.

Tout d'abord, celui de l'eau, un des problèmes les plus compliqués et les plus difficiles à résoudre de l'économie nationale de l'U.R.S.S. L'eau, surtout dans notre pays, n'est pas uniquement un moyen de transport, une source d'énergie d'importance extrême, c'est aussi une matière industrielle, un minéral utile, dont la surabondance ou la pénurie décident du sort de l'agriculture et de l'industrie, et des transports, et de l'économie municipale. Avec

sur 60.000 kilomètres de littoral, possédant en outre plus de 10.000 lacs salés, notre pays devait nécessairement être le premier à poser les problèmes scientifiques les plus importants ayant trait à l'étude de cette force de production. Nous ne nous arrêterons pas à nos succès, pourtant énormes, dans l'assimilation de l'énergie hydraulique, ni sur les vastes problèmes scientifiques qu'a résolus l'irrigation, surtout l'irrigation si rapide de l'Asie centrale. Nous ne dirons rien non plus de la purification des eaux, tâche complexe, d'une importance si évidente pour nos centres industriels et où il s'agit de neutraliser l'effet de mélanges nuisibles en proportion infime, de l'ordre de 10 puissance —13 ou de 10 puissance —15 %. Quantités si minimes que les méthodes d'analyse chimique normales sont impuissantes à les déceler, et qu'elles n'ont pour réactif que quelques phénomènes physiques, telle la fluorescence, qui peuvent seuls rivaliser avec les organes les plus sensibles de la perception humaine : l'odorat et le goût. Les problèmes qui se rattachent à l'étude scientifique de l'eau, cette force productive colossale de notre pays, n'ont été que posés, et nous devons reconnaître que nous commençons seulement à les résoudre.

Enfin, le dernier point : « *le rôle de la science et de la technique dans l'utilisation des forces productives* ». De ce rôle, Lénine a souvent parlé : en 1901, lorsqu'il nous exhortait à marcher de l'avant, dans la voie du progrès technique ; en 1913, dans l'admirable article qui s'intitule « *Une grandiose victoire de la technique* ». En 1918, il note de nouveau dans « *Les tâches actuelles du pouvoir soviétique* » le rôle de la technique moderne, base d'un progrès sans précédent des forces productives. Après la révolution, Lénine et Staline, dans leurs interventions et leurs discours, dans des notes et des articles, enfin dans leurs propos, sont constamment revenus aux questions scientifiques, envisageant les problèmes de la science et de la technique sous l'angle de l'accroissement des forces productives du pays.

Leurs paroles si limpides, la définition précise qu'ils donnent de la science appliquée montrent clairement que cette façon de poser les grands problèmes de l'étude des forces productives ne constitue pas un courant particulier dans le domaine de l'activité scientifique ; l'étude des forces naturelles productives n'est pas l'étude d'objets quelconques dans la nature, rigoureusement définis une fois pour toutes. Les forces productives sont créées à mesure que montent la culture et la technique. Les forces de la nature

— utiles ou non — sont transformées en forces productives par le travail de l'homme, par sa technique, par son effort créateur. Rien de plus attristant, dans l'activité scientifique, que cette façon éminemment séconde d'envisager l'étude de la nature environnante. Photographier et décrire sèchement le pays, se contenter de dresser l'inventaire et de procéder au classement de ses richesses ? Non pas. Ce qu'il faut, c'est étudier la nature dans son ensemble, pour pouvoir la maîtriser, la soumettre à sa volonté ; pour transformer, par la vertu d'une pensée et d'une action hardies, novatrices et fécondes, tous les éléments et toutes les forces de la nature en de grandioses réalisations de la culture et de l'industrie.

Existe-t-il, dans la science et dans la vie, un but plus noble ? Et est-il plus grand bonheur, pour le savant d'aujourd'hui, que de travailler à l'atteindre ? C'est vers ce but qu'en élans hardis, toujours renouvelés, la science soviétique s'avance dans la voie indiquée par Lénine, dans la voie où nous guide Staline.

## 6. Déductions et conclusions : En avant dans la voie du progrès !

Un quart de siècle s'est écoulé qui fut pour la science une période constructive vraiment exceptionnelle. Mais il va sans dire que ces réalisations prodigieuses, fruits d'idées novatrices et de méthodes nouvelles d'analyse scientifique, n'ont pas d'embûche gagné à ces dernières la science soviétique. Les schémas anciens et les traditions desséchantes se sont longtemps obstinés à la maintenir dans les voies anciennes. « Briser l'ancien est beaucoup plus difficile que bâtir du nouveau », dit un adage oriental soulignant combien il est malaisé de briser les vieilles formes et les vieux préjugés là où ils se sont, pendant des siècles, ancrés dans la vie et dans la pratique de chaque jour. Certes, un travail acharné s'impose, aujourd'hui encore, dans ces voies nouvelles. La quantité des faits à l'appui n'est pas toujours suffisante. Bien des réalisations n'ont pas encore été mesurées par un chiffre et une mesure précise. Les jeunes cadres ne font pas toujours preuve d'une audace suffisante et l'ardeur leur manque parfois qui doit les lancer à la recherche des voies nouvelles. Mais ce sont là difficultés auxquelles on se heurte nécessairement quand on s'est engagé dans des voies

nouvelles. Le nouveau n'en a pas moins conquis l'ancien monde sans retour.

C'est avec d'autres yeux que le savant considère aujourd'hui la nature qui l'entoure : les phénomènes naturels épars ne sont pour lui qu'un aspect de la nature, une partie d'un grand tout. Nous ne voyons autour de nous que successions infinies d'équilibres mobiles où la substance est inséparable de l'énergie, où des transformations, des changements, des migrations, des combinaisons et des désagrégations constantes ne sont pas les réactions fortuites d'un monde chaotique, mais les manifestations logiques des lois auxquelles sont soumises les substances et qui agissent dans des cadres concrets de temps et d'espace. Ce n'est pas la pensée idéaliste abstraite d'un théoricien qui dirige ces recherches, mais la ferme volonté de l'homme qui cherche à expliquer, puis à se subordonner la nature et les forces de la nature, afin de transformer le monde, de conquérir le système tout entier des éléments chimiques du globe, toutes ses formes d'énergie, et de les mettre au service du labeur, du travail et de l'édification socialiste. La route du progrès est ouverte, et devant nous se déroulent des perspectives infinies.

Rappelons-nous ces paroles de Frédéric Engels sur l'organisation nouvelle, socialiste de la société.

« Elle inaugurera dans l'histoire une époque nouvelle, où les hommes et toutes les branches de leur activité, plus particulièrement les sciences naturelles, enregistreront des réalisations telles que tout ce qui aura été accompli jusqu'alors apparaîtra comme une ombre diffuse (1). »

Et en effet, nous traversons maintenant des années mémorables, où des horizons nouveaux, illimités, s'ouvrent en U.R.S.S. devant les sciences naturelles. En cette période où d'entières écoles scientifiques se réorganisent, où l'on assiste à la démolition révolutionnaire de l'ancienne physique et de l'ancienne chimie classiques, en cette période de révision totale des valeurs dans le domaine des sciences humanitaires, les frontières sont renversées entre les anciennes disciplines, et à leur place s'édifient des courants scientifiques nouveaux ; les anciens schémas, figés de la scolastique et de la morphologie font place à des notions nouvelles, dynamiques. Les

---

(1) Frédéric Engels : *Monsieur Eugène Dühring bouleverse la Science. Dialectique de la Nature.*

sciences naturelles au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle se renouvellent dans leur essence même ; elles s'éclairent des idées philosophiques avancées du matérialisme dialectique.

C'est aujourd'hui seulement que l'on fait un premier pas, timide encore, pour capter l'énergie de l'atome. Les forces énergétiques que recèle la matière en quantité immense ne sont point reconnues par tous comme les sources réelles d'énergie qui alimenteront l'industrie de l'avenir, et même autour de l'isotope instable de l'uranium, de vifs débats scientifiques s'instituent. Dans tous les pays, surtout pendant la guerre, un immense travail de recherches se poursuit autour de ce problème. En Amérique, 11 laboratoires spéciaux se sont consacrés à son étude, mais c'est chez nous qu'il est posé dans toute son ampleur. Dans un avenir plus ou moins rapproché, demain peut-être, il ouvrira devant l'humanité des horizons absolument nouveaux, inouïs, de possibilités énergétiques. Et cette force, seul le pays des Soviets saura la capter rationnellement.

Les méthodes nouvelles élargissent progressivement les domaines de la connaissance du monde, en nous révélant les profondeurs de la terre. Les investigations géophysiques par le moyen des oscillations électriques ou des ondes sismiques et de puits de forage atteignant près de 4 kilomètres de profondeur, tout cela nous révèle petit à petit ce qui s'accomplit sous nos pieds et fait apparaître les couches externes de l'écorce terrestre comme de véritables sources d'où nous pourrons tirer des milliards de tonnes de métaux divers. Devant l'industrie de l'avenir s'ouvrent de nouvelles perspectives, non plus au sommet des montagnes, mais dans les grandes plaines, à des faibles profondeurs, de 1 ou 2 kilomètres au plus.

Peut-être n'avons-nous encore qu'une idée confuse des victoires où nous conduira l'étude de la matière lorsque nous aurons appris à soumettre la structure du système électromagnétique complexe qui, conformément aux lois de la géométrie, fait apparaître le cristal comme la base du monde matériel tout entier, et aussi comme la base de sa transformation. Apprendre à commander à la matière ; utiliser les forces électromagnétiques du réseau cristallin qui retiennent atomes et électrons en des noeuds déterminés d'équilibre géométrique ; savoir enfermer en une même équation ses propriétés extérieures, ses particularités chimiques, les traits si nombreux qu'avec tant d'application nous étudions dans nos manuels et ramenons à une longue suite de chiffres dans nos tables.

de constantes, mais que nous n'avons pas encore su exprimer en une même équation de la matière et de l'énergie, voilà ce que nous voulons ! Et la plus grande des victoires sur la matière — qui est de savoir la gouverner — découlera de ces premières équations peut-être très compliquées de la nature qui réduiront toute l'apparente diversité du monde à quelques constantes de la nature. Et parallèlement, des possibilités immenses se révéleront peu à peu de commander à la cellule vivante. Le monde si complexe de la matière organique avec ses faibles champs électromagnétiques, ses molécules énormes et complexes, presque visibles au microscope électronique, se compose de matières organiques particulières, instables dans leur systèmes mobiles. Cette instabilité, où, de toute évidence, résident les propriétés vitales de la cellule, c'est l'éénigme qu'aura à résoudre la science de demain, laquelle, en marchant de l'avant sur le chemin tracé par le génie de Darwin, saura commander à la cellule vivante.

Les voies à suivre pour résoudre les problèmes de l'avenir que nous venons d'énumérer pourront nous apparaître aujourd'hui comme la fantaisie de quelques savants, qui ont aveuglément foi dans la puissance et dans la force universellement triomphantes de la science. Mais dans les sciences naturelles comme dans les sciences physico-mathématiques, on ne crée rien sans fantaisie. Seule la pensée hardie d'un chercheur persuadé que le monde est connaissable, et qui croit fermement en la puissance créatrice de la raison humaine peut triompher et donner corps à la fantaisie la plus téméraire.

Et ce n'est qu'au grand et libre pays du socialisme triomphant que devant la pensée hardie la voie s'ouvre, large et sans entrave.

La science soviétique est aujourd'hui mise à l'épreuve par l'examinateur le plus inflexible qui soit : la guerre dans les conditions actuelles.

Le moment n'est pas encore venu de faire toute la lumière sur les brillantes réalisations des sciences naturelles, de la physique et de la chimie soviétiques en ces durs mois de guerre. Mais on peut dire ceci : toutes les forces de la science ont été mobilisées pour lutter contre l'ennemi ; la science a su reporter toute son attention, toute l'expérience qu'elle a acquise, toute la force de sa théorie sur les problèmes urgents dont la solution hâtera la victoire.

Et quand on pourra enfin mettre en lumière, dans tous leurs

détails, les conquêtes de la science soviétique pendant ces années de guerre, la conclusion ne pourra être que celle-ci : les sciences soviétiques, naturelles et physico-mathématiques, ont subi avec honneur l'épreuve de la grande guerre pour le salut de la Patrie.

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SUBJECT : COMMUNIST AND MILITARY MATTERS IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA

The following information and comments are submitted in specific response to the questions contained in the Department's A-37:

1. No additional details are available concerning the 30 million francs which Lisette claimed to have received from Russia, reported on page 3 of this Consulate General's Despatch no. 76. This information was obtained on a brief visit to Fort Lamy, Chad, which is over two thousand miles from Dakar and in French Equatorial Africa. Inasmuch as Chad is not administratively under the Government General at Dakar, it will not be possible to obtain further information on this point unless an officer from this Consulate should happen to visit Fort Lamy again. As was pointed out in Despatch 76, ~~that information~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~available~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~Government~~ ~~of~~ ~~Chad~~ the Governor did not believe that the money had actually been sent but that the statement had been made for propaganda purposes to increase the importance of Lisette in the minds of the natives. At the time of the conversation the Governor of Chad told Consul Moreland that the Communist Party in his territory appeared to be fairly well supplied with funds but that he had, at that time, March 8, 1950, been unable to ascertain that money had in fact been received from outside sources.

2. The mechanics to be employed in preventing Lisette's reelection were described in March 1950 as follows: As background it was explained that Lisette won the last election because two white Frenchmen squabbled for the seat among the more conservative voting elements. The nature of their squabbling left a clear field for Lisette to concentrate on the extreme left and on those natives who were not impressed by the fine points argued by the two white men. The Government and loyal political elements therefore now plan to use the same tactics to defeat Lisette. One and only one conservative white man will seek the seat, but there will be a black man from the extreme left who will campaign for the seat among Lisette's own supporters, and will fight him on his own terms. It is anticipated that this candidate will confuse the issue sufficiently among the masses to throw sufficient votes to the conservative candidate who will confine his campaign to a high-minded and beneficial platform. It must be remembered that the average African voter has a rather limited mentality which is impressed by apparent virtue and simple premises.

3. Additional information regarding evidence of Communistic penetration along the approximate line 14 degrees north latitude has been obtained. In general, the efforts at penetration described in Despatches No. 51 of February 18, 1950, no. 76 of March 24, 1950, no. 110 of April 19, 1950, continues in substantially the same manner as described in those despatches. A further

*M. Moreland*  
M. Moreland:lf  
3-2

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report describing the latest developments in the Communist attempts at strategic penetration of French West Africa is in course of preparation.

4. The question asked in paragraph 4 of the Department's airmail was answered in part by our despatch 156 of May 25, 1950. The over-all French strategy for this area is now being formulated. We do not have the complete list of the military forces and equipment but hope to obtain this shortly. However, according to high military officers, confirmed by personal observation, the effectives are only sufficient to handle poorly armed native disturbances and are by no means sufficient to meet even a small modern force. Apart from several companies of parachute troops, the other troops and equipment such as artillery, both field and anti-aircraft, tanks and accessory equipment are so few and spread so thin, and are so incapable of being readily moved for any distance from one point to another, that they can be considered to be completely ineffective against anything but a direct attack upon Dakar. Because of the poor condition or non-existence of railroads and roads, only the parachute troops can be considered to be mobile and they are sorely deficient in aircraft. With insignificant exceptions, all the military aircraft in F.W.A. are pre 1940 models. The parachute troops themselves must move about in old, wornout, 3-motor German Junkers.

The question of bringing reinforcements into F.W.A., should the need ever arise, is a matter of deep concern to the military commanders here. As was indicated in despatch 156, some of them feel that a well planned hostile force moving straight across the desert from the Mediterranean could reach the Gulf of Guinea before sufficient forces adequate to resist it could be brought by sea, or overland by other routes from France or western North Africa. These sources say that Metropolitan France would not be able to spare sufficient properly equipped aircraft to bring adequate forces and equipment for this purpose. Plans for the movement of troops and equipment within the vast expanses of F.W.A. are now being worked out, but the officers concerned emphasize that they are working largely with hypothetical troops and equipment but hope that they can make sufficient progress with the ground work and basic planning so that if and when the necessary effectives should be provided to meet a situation adequate use might be made of them.

It is in addition quite obvious, although it has not been so stated here, that a strike across the desert by a hostile force would only occur when pressure was being put simultaneously on North Africa and quite probably on France and the amount of reinforcement which could be expected from these sources would most likely be negligible. Reinforcements would have to come from French Equatorial Africa and British West Africa in neither of which is there believed to be great military strength, and in connection with which transportation difficulties would be just about as formidable and perhaps even more so as those encountered in the desert by the striking force. The chances of success therefore of a determined organized effort to cross the desert should be very good, especially if subversive penetration along the 14th Parallel could be counted upon to block or hinder military movements, supplies, air contact etc.

SECRET

3 - DAKAR 2 July 6, 1950

An effort will be made to obtain the data requested in sub-paragraph 4 of the Department's airgram, but it must be pointed out, that this is a type of information which would be readily given here by the Commanding-Inter-Armée General to an American military officer, but will be less readily given to us since as civilian officials, we are not clearly entitled, in French minds at least, to receive such information.

*Perry N. Jester*  
Perry N. Jester  
American Consul General

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Mr. Maurice Thomas, Acting Director General of the Interior expressed to us informally recently his deep gratification at the action of the U.S. Government in refusing a visa to Gabriel d'Arbousier, Vice President of the Assembly of the French Union, and Secretary General of the Communist UNR party, who wished to attend a conference of Negro trade unions at Chicago in June of this year.

Mr. Thomas was an old friend of d'Arbousier in the days when the latter was also in the colonial administration service. He was present in Paris at the time the visa was being refused, just before he, M. Thomas, assumed his present post.

M. Thomas said that he has reason to believe that one of the main purposes of d'Arbousier's proposed trip to the United States was to make contact with Nationalist leaders from British West African territories, and together to work up some plans for nationalistic agitation in the various territories along the West Coast of Africa, and perhaps to gain the support of American negroes for these aims. He mentioned that d'Arbousier is very much under the spell cast by the Cominform and actively carries out its directives. He went on to say that the surest way to guarantee communist successes among the Africans is to support nationalistic programs for them. The hand of the Cominform had been discovered guiding every nationalistic movement here as soon as it had acquired a reasonable following. In this connection statements regarding self-government and independence made by American statesmen and other Americans were a great danger because they inspired thoughts of nationalism in minds where none had existed before, and in minds which were in no sense ready to comprehend the real significance of nationalism. With this inspiration from a source which is generally admired for its altruism, it becomes easy for the Cominform agents to move in and simply take over control of these movements.

Mr. Thomas pointed out, and our own observation bears this out, that there are virtually no nationalistic movements of local or spontaneous origin among the natives of French West Africa; these non-Communist native leaders who are sufficiently developed to have political views prefer to work within the framework of the French Union and to lead their people to

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a fuller exercise of the duties and privileges of French citizenship which they acquired in 1946. In this they participate in all the elective bodies of the French Union and already have an unrestricted voice in the government of their own territories.

Nationalistic movements are incompatible with the present participation in Government at all levels by native Africans. The existence of the two schools of thought, if encouraged, would resemble the political situation in the United States at the time of the Civil War rather than that which led to the Revolutionary War. At the time of our civil war there were elements having the right of full participation in the affairs of the nation who did not wish to abide by the will of the majority. On the other hand a number of high officials here, both white and black, point out that the factors which led us to throw off the "colonial yoke" in 1776 do not exist in French West Africa. Taxation is with representation; Governmental decisions affecting these territories emanating from Paris are made with the full participation of elected representatives of the inhabitants of these territories both in Paris and in the local assemblies; local legislation and taxes are decided ~~upon~~ by local parliamentary bodies most of which are composed of a majority of black or native ~~members~~ members.

Whereas the colonial powers in 1776 enriched themselves by direct exploitation of their colonies and imposed restrictions to ensure this state of affairs, the mother country in the present case (Metropolitan France) has for over fifty years been setting up educational, health, social welfare and economic facilities in these African territories where none existed before, in a cooperative measure designed to improve the well-being and the capabilities of the inhabitants. In recent years this has been accelerated so that now substantial quantities of funds and technical assistance are pouring into these territories, as they would into any other part of the nation which might appear to require them, on the same principles that public funds in the United States are used to effect economic, health, etc. improvements in some part of the country that appears to require this assistance (for example: TVA). This approach to the needs and affairs of the various members of the French Union has nothing in common with the "colonialism" and "subjugation of dependent peoples" which strike a note of horror, or at least of distaste, in the breasts of those who think of "dependent areas" in terms of 1776, the slave trade, forced labor and the colonial abuses of the Victorian era.

The Colonial rule of both the British and the French in this part of Africa have brought civilizing influences to a decidedly primitive people, who would have nothing but the bush and their own systems of slavery and internecine strife today - were it not for the control and guidance of the white man. The African natives, protected by minimum wage and many other protective laws, have a higher standard of living - even with their tremendous revulsion for work - than would be the case if the Colonial Powers were not underwriting financially and managing the economy. To these non-Africans who live in Africa and have knowledge of the actual conditions regulating the lives of the still primitive people in this continent, the pronouncements of Americans - who have no responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, nor for guiding the long, slow struggle upward of a totally undeveloped people, - only serve to make those Americans seem lacking a sense of balance, of history (of Africa), of realism, and of common sense.

The high officials and leading personages, both black and white, who have commented to us on this subject, emphasized in the strongest terms that this integration of the African natives into the democratic processes of the French

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Union is proceeding in an orderly and happy manner. It is slow because the education of the masses cannot be accomplished over night, but already, they say, the masses are in a position to express their will, - and frequently do so, through their elected representatives. They are at liberty to express their wishes as to how they should be governed through the established parliamentary system, - and the colonial peoples of America of 1776 were not.

Therefore, they say, encouragement to nationalism, self-determination, etc. which comes from outside the French Union, being rarely understood by the relatively undeveloped African mentality, is quickly and neatly turned to their own uses by the Cominform-inspired white and native politicians who seek personal power that they cannot obtain through orderly processes. Working on the simple African, some of these men have gone so far as to preach that true nationalism can only be attained by joining the Soviet Union.

Americans not resident here, may well break this off as being too fantastic to be believed, but it happens to be effective among peoples who know only what they hear about other countries, and have no experience of their own which would permit them to understand life in either Russia or America. For example, they turn up their noses at the American way of life, with its cars, refrigerators, etc. when they hear that they must work hard to obtain these things. That may be our brand of nationalism, but when we encourage thoughts of nationalism they then think that if they must have nationalism they would like the Russian brand much better, for, they hear, under the Soviet system everything is organized for them, workers receive many rights and privileges and do not have to bethor their heads with carving out their own niche in life by competitive and hard work.

So, the many men, both in Dakar and in other parts of F.W.A. who have talked to us on this subject, say: "However high principled it may be, any talk or encouragement of nationalistic ideas does nothing but prepare the ground for Soviet Communism in French West Africa. It accomplishes nothing else."

Perry H. Lester  
American Consul General

Recent sources of comments on which these observations are based, include:

M. Thomas, Director General of the Interior, Dakar;  
Governor of Senegal (p.i.) Bailly, St. Louis;  
Governor of Senegal (permanent) Miltard (of pure African descent);  
The Secretary General of Senegal, St. Louis;  
M. Juglas, President of the Commission for Overseas France in  
National Assembly. Paris;  
M. Perrier, Conseiller of the French Union, member of Commission of  
Investigation of the events in Ivory Coast;  
M. Alduy, Conseiller of the French Union; President of the Socialist  
Committee for Overseas France affairs in the National  
Assembly. Paris.  
Governor of Chad de Massout, Fort Lamy, Chad;  
Commandant de Cercle Michel, Gao, Soudan;  
The Grande Serigne of Cap Vert (African leader),  
and a number of other officials, parliamentarians and private citizens  
of European, African or mixed ancestry.

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There are enclosed seven reports on Communist influence in French West and Equatorial Africa which have been loaned to the Consul General by Colonel R.W.G. STEPHENS, Security Liaison Officer, West Africa, whose headquarters are at Accra.

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By 277 Date 7/6/69

With regard to the copies to be sent to above posts, the Department is specifically requested to instruct them that the British source does not want these papers discussed with French authorities under any circumstances. It will be appreciated if the Department would inform Consulate General Lagos that they have been so instructed so that Colonel Stephen's confidence can be preserved.

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1. One TOP SECRET document entitled "LE RASSEMBLEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE AFRICAIN" undated.
2. One Secret document entitled "SITUATION ET ACTIVITE DU RASSEMBLEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE AFRICAIN A la date du 3 Juillet 1950" dated June 4, 1950.
3. One Secret document entitled "SITUATION ET ACTIVITE DU RASSEMBLEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE AFRICAIN a la date du 10 Juillet 1950" dated June 11, 1950.
4. One Secret document entitled "Situation et activite Du R.D.A. au 20 JUIN 1950" dated June 24, 1950.
5. One Secret document entitled NOTE sur l'envoi d'articles de M. Gabriel d'ARBOUSSIER au "LABOUR CHAMPION" dated June 27, 1950.
6. One Secret document entitled "Un article du journal 'A PROVINCIA DE ANGOLA' du 28/4/50, dont la traduction est donnee cidessous, traite de l'activite radio de la RUSSIE en AFRIQUE"

"METHODES D'ESPIONNAGE RUSSE SUR LE CONTINENT AFRICAIN" dated June 30, 1950.

7. One Secret document entitled "SITUATION ET ACTIVITE DU RASSEMBLEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE AFRICAIN a la DATE du 16/7/1950" undated.

TOP SECRET

*PSD*



2 DAKAR #49 September 5, 1950

"In America there are trade unions for the whites and trade unions for the blacks. The Government itself supports this racial discrimination---".

Dialle Abdoulaye is the same man who in speeches and press articles has described in glowing details the beauties of life for Africans and everyone else under Soviet administration (Congo Despatch 51, February 18, pgs. 2,7). He makes frequent visits behind the Iron Curtain (French Officials say that they frankly do not always know how he gets there).

Now he is one of the few, if not the only native French West African who has visited in the other camp, the United States, during the last two years and is, therefore, looked upon as the great authority on U.S.-Soviet matters by large segments of the native population. His speeches and newspaper (communist) articles are doing considerable harm to the reputation of the United States which is depicted as a cold-blooded, heartless, imperialistic nation of white men who constantly oppress the colored people within their own borders. The conclusion left to the listener in this and other speeches is "How can America be expected to take a humane attitude towards the blacks of Africa when it acts in this manner at home?"

It is not known whether the consular officer who issued the visa to Dialle was quoted correctly, but this office considers it to be unfortunate that a visa was granted to this communist who had as one of his main purposes in going to the United States the gathering of material, even though false, for anti-American propaganda.

Perry W. Jester  
American Consul General

350.21

\*He used in each place the French word "voiture" which is the common French word for carriage, vehicle or automobile.

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## FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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TO: Department of State

FROM: DAKAR #50 SEPTEMBER 6, 1950 829 11 PM IN 500.082-WFTU

RE: DESP. 51, FEB. 18, P. 2; 110, APRIL 19, 1950, P. 5.

SUBJECT: WFTU - COMINFORM PLANS FOR WEST AFRICA

We were given the following information on September 1, 1950 by the Chief of the French Counter-Intelligence Service for French West and Central Africa:

At the FSM (WFTU) Conference in Budapest (May 10-24, 1950) it was decided to set up definitive headquarters and organization in Black Africa. The goal is to bring all trade Unions in all countries of West Africa into the WFTU fold. (See despatch 51, February 18, p. 2)

Andre Tallet, prominent extremist white French communist-C.G.T. labor leader, was appointed to head the organization. He is expected to arrive in West Africa soon to start work. (See despatch 110, April 19, 1950, p.5)

The WFTU, in conjunction with the Communists, or rather as a Cominform front, is inviting all trade unions in West, or Black Africa to a Conference which will probably take place in Cameroun in October. This is considered to be a new technique aimed at joining and organizing the various Communist-inspired, - and nationalist, - groups (British & French Black Africa) throughout this area, and to bring them all more directly under the control of the Cominform.

Our source pointed out that the details of this move show clearly that the lines of command will now come directly from Moscow to West, or Black, Africa through the machinery of the WFTU, and that the previous more round about line of command through the Communist Party of France is being abandoned. Other competent sources have been predicting such a change. He also informed us that detailed reports from many places indicate that strikes and disorders are on the program for many places, particularly along the coast, throughout West Africa for September and October. He emphasized that the strikes will be purely for political reasons and not economic although pretenses of an economic nature will be used. The plans, which have been and are now continuing to be worked out, are based on the political requirements of the Cominform.

This source has in the past displayed some reluctance in giving up detailed information, saying that he would prefer to work with a military attache or someone specifically designated for intelligence activities. In this case, however, he felt that these Communist plans, which have just been confirmed, and are beginning to be put into effect, should be made known to the United States.

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2 DAKAR #50 SEPTEMBER 6, 1950

The information itself is confirmation of the general picture which had been becoming more clear, - and which has been mentioned frequently in reports from this office, - that the Cominform has specific, long-range plans for Black Africa, and that it is preparing the ground in no uncertain manner for specific action.

*J*  
Perry N. Jester  
American Consul General

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*BB*

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To the

American Consular Officer in Charge,

Dakar, French West Africa.

The Secretary of State refers to the Consulate General's despatch No. 54, September 11, 1950, concerning an article which appeared in the August 14 issue of Reveil, exhorting its readers to write letters to Mr. Maximilian Mose, President of the Board of Education, New York City, protesting the suspension of eight teachers because of communist activities.

According to a report just received in the Department, no letters or cards on this subject have been received from French West Africa by the New York Board of Education.

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## FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

SECURITY: RESTRICTED

PRIORITY: AIR POUCH

TO: Department of State

FROM: DAKAR #54 SEPTEMBER 11, 1950

REF:

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

As a part of its running campaign to discredit the United States at every opportunity, and notably on the subject of "racial repression", the RDA-Communist newspaper of French West Africa, REVEIL in its issue of August 14, 1950 published an article entitled: "International Solidarity: An appeal of Suret-Canale to the Teaching Corps of French West Africa".

Suret-Canale had been discharged from his teaching position and expelled from F.W.A. for his Communist activities. He said, in part:

"Throughout the world, the criminals who are preparing a new world war are unleashing an unprecedented persecution against all the partisans of peace who struggle for liberty and national independence.

"The repression strikes particularly the members of the teaching corps; to instruct the young in hate of oppression and of war, in love of liberty and of peace, has always appeared to be a duty to educators worthy of the name.

"The list of teachers — removed from F.W.A. — is already long —.

"But this local action should not make us forget our duty to international solidarity.

"At New York eight leaders of the teachers' union have just been suspended without recompense and their union — deprived of its prerogatives.

" — the pretext — was that they refused to say whether or not they belonged to the Communist Party. — In reality it was their energetic action in defense of the claims of their colleagues, their fight against the odious racial discrimination which rages everywhere in the United States, their position on peace for which the magnets of Wall Street do not forgive them.

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"Comrades of F.W.A. write immediately to the American school administration at New York to express your reproach of the fascist procedures, to demand the immediate reinstatement of these irreproachable educators, to say what you think of the policy of war and of racial discrimination practiced by the Government of the United States.

"Send your letters to Mr. Maximilien Moss, Board of Education, 110 Livingston Street, New York".

The foregoing article was undoubtedly written for the effect it would have upon its African readers rather than for any influence it might have on the New York Board of Education. It would, however, be of great interest and value to this office if the Department would ascertain from the New York Board of Education the number of letters, and if possible, the names of the writers, who wrote in response to this "appeal", and inform this office.

Perry N. Jester  
American Consul General

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A-562, October 18, 1950

There are enclosed for the information of the Officer in Charge copies of seven Top Secret and Secret reports on Communistic Influence in French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. These reports were made available to the Consul General at Lagos by the British Security Liaison Officer for West Africa who requests that they not be discussed with French authorities under any circumstances.

Enclosures:

- (1) One TOP SECRET document entitled "LE RASSEMBLEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE AFRICAIN" undated.
- (2) One Secret document entitled "SITUATION ET ACTIVITE DU RASSEMBLEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE AFRICAIN a la date du 3 Juillet 1950" dated June 4, 1950.
- (3) One Secret document entitled "SITUATION ET ACTIVITE DU RASSEMBLEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE AFRICAIN a la date du 10 Juillet 1950" dated June 11, 1950.
- (4) One Secret document entitled "Situation et activite du R.D.A. au 20 JUIN 1950" dated June 24, 1950.
- (5) One Secret document entitled NOTE sur l'envoi d'articles de M. Gabriel d'ARBOUSSIER au "LABOUR CHAMPION" dated June 27, 1950.

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(6) One Secret

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A-562, October 18, 1950

TO AMEMBASSY, LONDON  
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(6) One Secret document entitled "Un article du journal  
"A PROVINCIA DE ANGOLA" du 28/4/50, dont la traduction  
est donnee ci-dessous, traite de l'activite radio de  
la RUSSIE en AFRIQUE"  
"METHODES D'ESPIONNAGE RUSSE SUR LE CONTINENT  
AFRICAIN" dated June 30, 1950.

(7) One Secret document entitled "SITUATION ET ACTIVITE DU  
RASSEMBLEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE AFRICAIN a la DATE du  
16/7/1950" undated.

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Copies of enclosures sent to:

Amembassy, Paris  
Amembassy, Monrovia  
Am*Congo*, Dakar  
Am*Consul*, Leopoldville  
Am*consul*, Lagos  
Am*consul*, Accra

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FROM : DAKAR 91 NOVEMBER 9, 1950 *File No. 202-7521-00*  
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There is transmitted herewith as Annex I, a tabulation showing the participation of French West African natives in Parliamentary and Legislative bodies of France, the French Union, the Federation at Dakar, and of the Territories themselves. This table lists the various bodies and the representation of each of the eight Territories therein divided between Europeans and natives.

The second tabulation Annex II, lists by Territories the names of the elected representatives in the Colleges of the Conseil Général of each of the eight Territories with a brief indication of their trade, business, vocation or profession. The names of native Africans are underscored.

These tables are illuminating in revealing the political transition which is occurring in FWA and the extent of the participation and integration of the native Africans in various parliamentary and legislative bodies four years after the formation of the present French Union by the Constitution of the Fourth Republic in 1946 and the conferring of citizenship on the natives of FWA. It will be noted, for example, that in the National Assembly at Paris, the eight Territories of FWA are represented by 15 natives and 1 European; in the Council of the Republic by 11 natives and 9 Europeans and in the Council of the French Union which also sits in Paris, by 18 natives as against 9 Europeans. Thus, in these three bodies sitting in Paris, in the aggregate native FWA africans hold 44 seats or over 66 2/3% of the 66 seats available to FWA; and it is only in the Council of the Republic where Europeans even closely approach the number of native participants.

The ratios in the Grand Conseil at Dakar reveal only 25% European, while interestingly enough, it is only in the First College (Upper Houses) in the Territorial General Councils that Europeans in the aggregate appear in greater numbers than natives. This may be explained by the fact that many of the Europeans concerned were already established leaders and members of the smaller councils that existed prior to 1946. They, however, are now elected by a majority of natives and thus in principle, represent native as well as European individuals, or in other words, under the Constitution of the Fourth Republic, they represent "citizens of the French Union".

JNPlakat: WMorelanderslf

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On the other hand, in the Second Colleges (Lower Houses) there is only 1 European as against 172 natives.

The overall figures for all bodies shown in the table reveal that of 434 representatives, 326 or 75% are natives and only 108 or 25% are Europeans.

Annex II mainly emphasizes the native representation in the Territorial General Councils but also gives some interesting sidelights on the private careers and employment of the representatives.

The large native African representation in Metropolitan Parliamentary and Union bodies in Paris provides the native West African population with full opportunities of expression through their elected representatives who can vote on all questions coming before those bodies as well as raise questions on their own initiative. It is also evident that in the federal and local legislative bodies in FWA, the native Africans with their preponderance can and do control these bodies.

In the circumstances, they have the opportunities and power if and when they wish to raise such questions as "self-government" and "self-determination", give full expression to their views and take direct action in these parliamentary bodies in which they have direct participation. On the other hand, a review of the proposals submitted by the native African members and of their voting records would indicate that as a group, they freely express whatever version of "self-government" they may see fit. The version as demonstrated by their participation and expressions in these bodies indicates their desire to work and act within the framework of the French Union in whose affairs they participate, are represented and of which they are citizens. The notable exception is on the part of those members who are openly Communist or have Communist affiliations and whose expressions of "colonialism", "subjugated peoples" and lack of "equal rights and privileges" do not enter the vocabularies of the large majority of the African parliamentarians. It has been the policy of the guiding French officials to abolish the bases on which such concepts might exist in the minds of the natives. In the brief post war period, they have had considerable success in this endeavor so that virtually all comments to the contrary are traceable to Cominform propaganda.

Despite the full native participation in Government, their legislative experience is limited and their exercise of the rights of citizenship and privilege of the ballot are new to them. It will take time for them to achieve the necessary education, social advancement and economic development to enable them to assume, unaided, the full responsibilities of citizens and legislators. The guidance and financial assistance of the French are and will continue for some time to come to be essential to the development and maturity of FWA peoples.

John N. Pjakias  
American Consul General

Enclosures:

1. Annex I - Status of FWAfrican Native Participation in Parliamentary and Legislative Affairs of France, the French Union, the Federation, and Territories.
2. Annex II - Representatives in Colleges of Conseils Généraux of Eight Territories.

Send copies: Embassy Paris.

STATUS OF FRENCH WEST AFRICAN NATIVE PARTICIPATION IN PARLIAMENTARY AND LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS  
OF FRANCE, THE FRENCH UNION, THE FEDERATION, AND TERRITORIES.

Dakar, September 26, 1950

	PARIS				DAKAR				TERRITORY CONSEIL GENERAL					
	Assemblée Nationale	Conseil de la République	Conseil de l'Union Fr.	Grand Commission	Commission Permanente	Conseil Nat.	Eur. Nat.	1st. Cal.	2nd. Col.	Upper House	Lower House	Eur. Nat.	Eur. Nat.	
	Eur. Nat.	Eur. Nat.	Eur. Nat.	Eur. Nat.	Eur. Nat.	Eur. Nat.	Eur. Nat.	Eur. Nat.	Eur. Nat.	Eur. Nat.	Eur. Nat.	Eur. Nat.	Eur. Nat.	
Senegal	1	2	1	2	1	4	1	1	6	44	None	None	None	
Maure- tania	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	0	2	2	4	0	14
French Soudan	0	2	1	3	2	3	2	3	0	2	15	5	0	30
Niger	0	2	1	1	1	2	0	5	0	2	10	0	0	20
French Guinea	0	2	2	0	2	2	2	3	0	2	13	3	0	24
Ivory Coast	0	2	2	1	2	2	1	4	1	1	15	3	0	26
Upper Volta	0	3	1	2	1	4	0	5	0	2	6	2	0	11
Dahomey	0	1	0	2	0	2	2	3	1	1	7	5	1	17
Totals:	1	15	2	11	2	16	2	31	3	13	76	66	1	172
	16	20		27		40	16		142		173			
									European	Native	Total			
Total Representation in Metropolitan and Union Bodies									19	44	63			
Total Representation in Federation Bodies									12	44	56			
Total Representation in Territorial Bodies									77	238	315			
									Total:	108	326	434		

Note: In many cases the same man holds more than one elective position.

SECRET : UNCLASSIFIED

Annex I to Dakar Despatch No. 91, November 9, 1950.

SECURITY: UNCLASSIFIED

Annex II to Dakar Despatch No. 91, November 9, 1950.

CONSEIL GENERAL OF THE IVORY COAST

First College (Upper House)

BEDDAM Pouri - Planter  
DIOP Amadou - Grand Conseiller  
DRAUT Louis - Brickmaker  
DUBOIS Charles - Merchant  
PIERRE Joseph - Merchant  
FILLOUET Antoine - Merchant  
FOURNIER-DELLIS Robert - Merchant  
JALIMAUD Jean-Baptiste - Planter, Grand Conseiller  
JACQUEMIN Johannes - Mechanic  
JOSSE Armand - Lawyer  
LEON Robert - Merchant  
MODESTE Charles - Planter  
PASSEL Leon - Engineer  
PIERAUD Henri - Planter  
PLANTEVIN - Employee  
ROCHER Emile - Merchant  
SCHLOSSER Jacques - Planter  
WADE Babacar - Merchant

Second College (Lower House)

BALOMMA SOULIBALY - Telephone employee  
BLAISCH CLARCK - Customs Official  
BOKOKH Amadou - Law court clerk  
BOA AMOAKON - African doctor  
CAPRI DJEDJE - African doctor  
DELAFOSSIE Jean - Grand Conseiller  
DENISE Anatole - African doctor  
DJIBO SOUNKALO - Teacher  
GAUZE Antoine - Railroad Station Chief  
GOFFRI Kouassi Raymond - Teacher  
MOUPHOET-BOUAGNY Felix - African doctor  
KAGOU AOULOU - Teacher  
KOUASSI ANAKY - Telegraph employee  
KOREKI MIAM - Teacher  
LATTIER Etienne - African doctor  
LAGOSSINA CISSE - Teacher  
MOCHI Jean-Baptiste - African druggist  
MORY KITA - Transport employee  
NANAN AKOU - African doctor  
NIANGORAM EYEMON - Teacher  
PARAISO Albert - Secretary, Tribunal  
SEKOU SANAGO - Administration employee, Grand Conseiller  
BEYNI GUEYDE DIAGNE - Planter  
TE PLAN Basile - Teacher  
YORO SANCAK - Teacher

SECURITY : UNCLASSIFIED

Annex II to Dakar Despatch No. 91, November 9, 1960.

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~~SIMPLY HOUSE~~

DIAGNE Souley - Legal secretary  
GAYE Amadou Karim - Veterinary  
WALL Maury Amadou - Teacher  
DIOP Alouar - Teacher  
MASSENE DIALLO - Merchant  
GUILLABERT Andre - Secretary  
FICHEVERRY Guy - Publisher  
TEXY Jules - Commercial employee  
KANE Boum - Employee of Tribunal  
MONVILLE Edward - Lawyer, Grand Conseiller  
DIOP Abdoulaye Kar - Teacher  
DIOP Abdoulaye Kar - Commercial employee  
DIOP Boubakar Oye - Secretary  
KANE Diallo - Teacher  
LE GROS Louis - Druggist  
LAMIDE GUEYE - Lawyer - Deputy Mayor  
D'ERNEVILLE Jacques - Merchant  
DIOP Oumarou Soud - Veterinary  
BONIFAI Paul - Lawyer  
LO Adams - Teacher  
GUENYE Maurice - Merchant  
DEMMAS Robert - Industrialist - Grand Conseiller  
AMGRAND Alexandra - Accountant  
M'DOYE Amadou Assane - Merchant  
M'DIANE BIBI - Employee of Finance Service  
SAHR Amadou Babacar - Employee of Finance Service  
THIAM Ibra Abdoulaye - Accountant  
DIOP Sekhout - Shipper  
GUILLABERT Mariane - Products Inspector  
M'BA Mame - Commercial employee  
M'LAÏ Cheikh Mame - Accountant  
M'LAÏ Mame - Businessman  
GAYI Jacques Ibrahima - Professional writer  
SEINGHOR Leopold Sedar - Professor - Grand Conseiller and Deputy  
MOISSIER PALUN - Lawyer  
M'BA Alioune - Teacher  
TURPIN Henri - Commercial employee  
BA Ibrahima (dit Biadjji Ba) - Merchant  
DIA Mamadou - Teacher  
DIOP Amadou (dit Combattant) - Merchant  
AIB Louis Bione - Merchant  
M'DAM Ibrahima Seydou - Commercial agent  
CAMARA Amadou - Veterinary  
M'DOYE Souleymane - Merchant - Grand Conseiller  
DIA CISSE - Africain doctor  
DIATTA Pierre - Merchant

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Annex II to Dakar Despatch No. 91, November 9, 1950.

GAYE Major - Accountant

KANE Mamadou Alpha (dit Doudou) - Teacher

DAFFE Amadou Lamine - Director

SALZMANN - Commercial agent

DAHOMEY

First College (Upper House)

AGUESSY Grille - African doctor

D'ASSOMPTION Antoine - African doctor

GUICHARD - School director

MME POISSON Emile - Teacher

POISSON Emile - School director - Conseiller de la Republique

NEGRI Gaston - Merchant - Grand Conseiller

R.P. POIDEVINEAU - Rev. Father Superior

AGIER Jean - Merchant

BARTOLI Felix - Lawyer - Grand Conseiller

AMPILOGAN Dominique - Medical assistant

MOUNIE Francois - Inspector of Gold mines

MORETTI - Superintendent of Public Works

Second College (Lower House)

APITHY SOUROU MIGAN - Accountant - Grand Conseiller and Depute

GOVI Mensahn - Professor

R.P. DURAND - Superior

PATTERSON Louis - Merchant

SANI ASATA - Merchant

AZANGO Augustin - Merchant

DEGBEY Adrien - Teacher

DIOGO Denis - Merchant

AKINDE - Teacher

DAEDO - Interpreter

AHOMADEGBE TOMETIN - African doctor - Grand Conseiller

HOUNDODO Theodore - Railway Station Chief

BABA Moussa - Telephone employee

CONDACOU Tahirov - Teacher

SADELER Antoine - Transport employee

AHOUAMANOU Michel - School director

MAGA COUTOUQUOU - School Director - Grand Conseiller

CUMAR SANKARE Andre - Veterinary

GUINEE

FIRST COLLEGE (UPPER HOUSE)

M'DIAYE Gilbert - Accountant

EL HADJ M'DIAYE KANE - Bureau Chief

CORBIK Jules - Commercial agent

BERNIS Raymond - Planter

ROUGHEYRON - Merchant

LAMBERT - Merchant

MIGNANT - Planter

CELLIER Pierre - Merchant

Annex II to Dakar Despatch No. 91, November 9, 1950.

HASSID Simon - Lawyer - Grand Conseiller  
BLOU Elie - Teacher  
CANCUSSE Fortuné - Foreman  
ORTOLAN Louis - Railway Inspector  
MARCOU Désiré - Planter  
N'DIAYE Abdoulaye - Tribal Leader  
DELMAS Louis - Inspector of the Lands - Conseiller de l'Union Française  
ENQUIROL Louis -

Second College (Lower House)

TOURE FODE Mamadou - Employee of Finance Service  
BANGOURA Karim - Teacher  
SAMPIL Mamadou - School Principal  
SOUMAH Amara - Accountant  
DIALLO Mamadou - Teacher  
DIALLO Bouba - Canton Chief  
ALMANY IBRAHIMA SORI DARA - Canton Chief - Grand Conseiller  
TIKNO SORI IBRAHIMA BA - Canton Chief  
BARRY DIAWADOU - Accountant  
FRAMOI BERETE - Commercial employee  
KAMARA Mamadou - Accountant - Grand Conseiller  
CISS E Mamadou - Agriculturist  
KOLY KOUROUMA - Canton Chief  
KAMARA KANAN - Teacher  
KOUROUMA MAMADY - Secretary - Grand Conseiller  
KOUAMBO Fassane - School Director  
KALIL BERETE - Merchant  
DIALLO ABDOU LAYE - Bailiff  
TOURE N'DIA - Employee of Administration Service  
BAH Mamadou - Employee of Administration Service  
YACINE DIALLO - Teacher and Deputy  
IBRAHIMA BAH - Canton Chief  
DIAFODE KABA - Merchant  
MAMBA SAMO - Deputy

HAUTE VOLTA

First College (Upper House)

MORIN Jean-Marie - Engineer  
BERNARD Pierre - Merchant  
MARCHE Georges - Agent C.F.A.O.  
ROBIN Edgard - Merchant  
TEIMA POFANA - Merchant  
ANDREW GARNETSON - Doctor of Medicine - Grand Conseiller  
LÉMALIE Léon - Director C.A.C.I.B.  
ROMÉ Leon - Agent of C.F.C.I.  
HALTER Joseph - Treasurer  
PAREYAN Maurice - Secretary

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Annex II to Dakar Despatch No. 91, November 9, 1950

Second College (Lower House)

QUEZZIN COULIBALY - Teacher and Deputy  
SAFON SANOU - Teacher  
SITI SORY - Agriculture Assistant  
PALEMOR PINEALIE - School Director  
BERNARD Pierre -  
DAOUDA DIALLO - Telegraph employee  
BARDAOGAO Laurent - Post Office Manager - Grand Conseiller  
KIEMBO Guede - Teacher - Grand Conseiller  
ZERANGO Pohi - Employee of Finance Service  
QUEDRAOGO Mamadou - School Director and Deputy  
DORANGE Michel - Captain - Conseiller de l'Union Francaise  
QUEDRAOGO MOGA - Teacher  
QUEDRAOGO BOUCOURAOUA - Teacher - Grand Conseiller  
TALL DIADIE - Teacher  
BARRY BOUKARY - Canton Chief  
DIAMARA ALOUATA - Transport employee  
COULIBALY MANDAMOU - Interpreter  
SITA SIDIBE - Representative of a Canton Chief  
ABBA ALADIOQQ - Employee of Administration Service  
ALI BIAROUMYIE - Veterinary - Grand Conseiller  
SIGNE NOUHOUUM - Veterinary  
THIONBIANO Babribila - Employee of Administration Service  
CUABA DIAMANGOU - Student interpreter  
GUSSOU Henri - Administration employee and Deputy  
GUILLAUME Ouedraogo - President, Permanent Commission  
YAMEBOGO Mouride - Transport employee  
DIOPPOU Marcel - Interpreter of Chief of Canton  
SERE Doudou - Teacher  
VINAMA Francais - Telegraph employee  
QUEDRAOGO Fernand - Chief of Canton  
INOUSSA KAFANDO - Chief of Canton  
ILBOUDO MARAOGO - Employee of Finance Service  
INOUSSA KAFANDO - Chief of Canton  
ILBOUDO MARAOGO - Employee of Finance Service  
QUEDRAOGO TIBO - Teacher  
ATTIRON Marcel - Telephone employee  
BOUDA Francais - Employee of Administrative Service - Conseiller de l'Union  
QUEDRAOGO Tendaogo - Employee of Administrative Service  
MAMA MOBILA - Telegraph employee  
KONSEIGA Georges - Secretary  
KALENZAGA Christophe - Assistant Railway Stationmaster  
DITTE DARIRE

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Annex II to Dakar Despatch No. 91, November 9, 1950

LIBER

First College (Upper House)

KUETSCHE Bernard - Exporter - Importer  
BALAY Fernand - Tracker  
DUTHIEIL Marcel - Agent of SOCA  
LAURIER Marius - Tracker  
ASSENS Georges - Superintendent of Public Works  
CHIAVERINI Jean - Merchant  
FOURRIER Gaston - Commercial Agent  
PAU Marcel - Merchant  
PERINEAU Jean-Rene - Tracker  
De PUYPONTAINE - Agent, Cooperatives

Second College (Lower House)

MAY Moussa - Canton Chief  
ISSAKA Amadou - Canton Chief  
DAMBOUZOU Aberry - Employee of Administrative Service  
MAHAMAN Aky - Interpreter  
DIAKITE Tiesuke - Employee of Administrative Service  
SALMA Ali - Employee of Administrative Service  
DAMBASKORE - Tribal Chieftain  
TAWAYE Mohaman - Canton Chief  
CHAGULAWI Tashari - Canton Chief  
MAGAGI DJIBO - Transport employee  
BABO MOHA - Representative of Canton Chief  
QAO TIEMOU - Agriculturist  
MOUMOUNI ACOUTA DJERMAKOYE - Chief of province - Grand Conseiller  
BOURGU HAMA - Teacher - Grand Conseiller  
COULIBALY Tiesuke - Radio employee - Grand Conseiller  
DJIBO GANDAH - Teacher  
OUMAR BA - African Doctor - Grand Conseiller  
MAITOURAM Moustapha - Employee of Administrative Service  
YAHAYA Tousaou - Transport employee  
BOUBACAR Bolho - Telephone employee

MAURETANIA

First College (Upper House)

COMPAGNET Maurice - Trucking Company Director  
BRUNO Henry - Fishery Director  
SOW Diorabine dit IBA Gnagna - Merchant  
DIOP SOULEYMANE CHEYE - Commercial Agent  
SAHR DIAWAR - School Principal - Conseiller de l'Union Francaise  
SECK ALIBOURY - Veterinary

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Annex II to Dakar Despatch No. 91, November 9, 1950

Second College (Lower House)

DEMRELE TIECOURA - Teacher  
BOUNA MOKHTAR - Tribal Chief  
DEI OULD SIDI BABA - Merchant - Grand Conseiller  
MAMADOU ELIMANE ATHIE - Canton Chief.  
EL HADJ MOHAMMED LIMA - Cattle Broker - Tribal Chief  
DIA ANADOU MOKHTAR - Veterinary  
HAMED DJIBI NIANG - Transport employee  
NORMA OULD BABANA - Interpreter and Deputy, Grand Conseiller  
BIENNA OULD SALIKI - Merchant  
SIDI AHMED OULD LEMBIE - Interpreter  
ROUBACAR SAKO - Transport employee  
MOHAMMED OULD DAH OULD SALEM - Interpreter  
AHMED SALCUM OULD HALBA - Employee of Administrative Service  
SISSIDA MAHAMANNE - African veterinary

SOUDAM

First College (Upper House)

MADEMBA RACINE - Public Agent  
COURRIEU Emile - General Agent  
ANTOINE Jean - African doctor  
HESLING Jean - Lawyer - Grand Conseiller  
QUENOT Noel - Agent of the Niger Office  
MILLERET Jean - Commercial employee  
DICUF SOGUI - Merchant  
DIANE Abdoulaye Magatte - Managing Director  
DIOP HANET Felix - Assistant writer  
JOLLY Germaine -  
DUBOIS Marcel - Teacher  
SAINTARD Victor - Agricultural engineer  
TRICON Jean - Merchant  
SIENE Alassane - Commercial agent  
CORDON Roger - General Administrator of the Niger Office - Grand Conseiller  
BIGNAT Henri - Commercial Agent  
BRICHETEAU Ernest - Educator  
SIMON Marcel - Merchant  
CHARPENTIER Jacques - Camel raiser  
VIDAL Pierre - Contractor

Second College (Lower House)

SALL Diorhine - Employee, Tribunal  
NIARE Mamadou - Agriculturist  
DJALLO DJIOUI - Canton Chief  
DIAWARA Mamadou - Employee of Administrative Service  
KODIBO KELITA - Teacher  
WILY DABO SIBSOKO - School Director and Deputy

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Annex II to Dakar Despatch No. 91, November 9, 1950

TIDIANI TRAORE - African doctor - Grand Conseiller  
TIENOKO DIATIGUI DIARRA - Restaurateur  
SOXY Amadou - Canton Chief  
BATHYILI Samba - Commercial employee  
DIAKITE Mory - Canton Chief  
TRAORE Zie - Canton Chief  
BA Mame Alassane - African doctor  
KORESSI Almamy - Canton Chief - Grand Conseiller  
MARIKO SIRIMAN - Transport employee  
KONE Jean-Marie - Teacher  
ZANA SANOGO - Teacher  
COULIBALY Thiemoko - Transport employee  
COULIBALY Baba - Secretary of Canton Chief  
OUSMANE CISSE -  
MAIGA Ballobo - Canton Chief  
GUIMBO Ballo - Canton Chief  
ISSA Mamadou - Assistant Teacher  
ALI AC ATTAKER Mohammed - Tribal Chief  
TOURE EL MADANE - Accountant  
CISSOHO KANTARA - Public Agent  
SOUMA NE DEMBA - Telegraph employee  
SOXY Konate - Teacher  
FOROTA Abdourahmane - Telegraph employee

## FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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TO : Department of State

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FROM : DAKAR #113 NOVEMBER 30, 1950

1950 DEC 8 PM 4 45

ACTION

REF : PARIS DESPATCH 1114, NOVEMBER 8, 1950; CONGEN DESPATCH 50, SEPTEMBER 6,  
1950

NEA

SUBJECT: REALIGNMENT OF COMMUNIST RDA PARTY IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA

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The entire question of the affiliation of the Communist inspired RDA and its filial parties in each of the eight territories of French West Africa is still very much up in the air. Confusion and contradictory ideas apparently prevail among the RDA leaders and membership, and other political leaders as to just what the proposed new alignments mean. It is possible, however, that the top leaders such as Houphouet and d'Arboussier, together with the French Communist Party leaders concerned, such as Barbé, know what they are driving at.

French Intelligence and security officials here are apparently just as uncertain as anyone else as to what is really going on, that is, as to the true significance of the current manouvres. Some of them have been predicting for some six months that this situation would occur and that it would be the Cominform's reply to the repressive measures taken by the Government of French West Africa against Communism which were begun in earnest following the troubles in Ivory Coast of January, 1950. One reliable source told us that the basic decision for a public break between the RDA and the CP was made at a meeting in Paris between Thorez, other top CP leaders, and Houphouet and d'Arboussier of the RDA. Parenthetically, they have been unable to discover direct Cominform guidance for these operations, but feel certain that the instructions were given to the several RDA leaders who go behind the Iron curtain from time to time and who have frequent meetings with CP leaders in France. They are uncertain as to whether the current confusion arises from bumbling and political trading on a low personality level, or whether it is a carefully engineered scheme to throw confusion into all political parties of the area and which will eventually, when the time is ripe, emerge through infiltration and other Communist techniques as the dominant all-African party taking orders directly from Moscow. Some of these officials take the view that the latter version is the correct one.

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One feature of the noisily proclaimed break of the RDA from the Communist party of France and its proposed affiliation with the IOM (Overseas Independents) is described in a recent comment of a high Political Official in Dakar to the writer. He said in substance: "This comes at a time when we have the Communist elements nicely under control; there are decrees, laws and procedures which permit us effectively to prevent RDA meetings and demonstrations, thus preventing the spread of the movement."

Amendment Change/modify to \_\_\_\_\_  
 Indefinitely with concurrence of \_\_\_\_\_

\* in July 1950.

H. Moreland Jr: lf

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4/2/71

and discouraging most but the more fanatic militants. This proposed move puts us back to the beginning; none of the decrees, etc., will be valid against members of the IOM, although the ex-RDA leaders the IOM will inherit can hardly be expected to change their spots, or their established links with Communism. Conversely the Cominform can hardly be expected to abandon the hold it has developed over certain of these people." In effect the same comments were made to the Consul General by the head of the local Sécurité Nationale prior to his departure to France on holiday.

The following recent developments and commentaries are excerpts in translation from secret French intelligence reports. They are inconclusive but when considered in the light of known Cominform techniques they indicate the type of juggling now going on:

According to a report of November 2, 1950, the negotiations between the IOM and RDA included conditions on the part of the IOM that the RDA would not create sections in places where none existed already, nor develop its organization in areas where its situation was "less preponderant" than that of the IOM.

This provision was to apply in French Somali, Togo, Gabon, and in French West Africa to Dahomey, Senegal, Guinea, Upper Volta, and Niger as being IOM territory. The IOM would cede leadership and influence to the RDA in Ivory Coast, Soudan, Middle Congo and Chad. Each would agree not to put up candidates for the coming election in the territories of the other.

The Dakar Communist-line newspaper Reveil, which suspended publication in September, would not be revived by the RDA. A new newspaper would be founded under the political direction of Houphonet (d'Arboussier directed Reveil) which would defend the new policy of the RDA in line with these accords.

The report then analyses these proposals. In Dahomey the RDA would give up nothing because they had virtually nothing. In Senegal the main political struggle is between the Socialists (SFIO) and the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais of which Leopold Senghor is the leader. The RDA leaders of Guinea are quite intransigent communists and simply would not abide by any agreement. The proposal gives to the RDA Ivory Coast (where it already had its greatest strength) but where the new EDICI (Entente des Indépendants de Côte d'Ivoire) has been making great gains in membership and influence on its platform of fighting the RDA and in opposition to Houphonet.

In an intelligence report of November 9, 1950 there is quoted a letter from M. Liayette, Communist deputy from Chad, dated October 23, 1950, to Djibé Bakary, Secretary General of the PFM (RDA filial) at Niamey, Niger.

"—this IOM-RDA alliance constitutes an attempt at regrouping. The door remains open for other political nuances. —This operation can present advantages, as it can run grave risks, for the African demands movement (a communist by-word here) —The results will be catastrophic if all the lines of action of the joint group comes to be determined by the expediency of private interests (Communist by-word meaning personal political advancement

as opposed to gaining the aims of the party). Wait and See (in English)".

Another less reticent Communist-RDA leader Djibo Sounkhale, is quoted as having stated in a talk at Bouake on October 21, 1950, that this new African Bloc is only the realisation of the charter of Bamako (October 1946 when the RDA was founded under Communist guidance) and points out that this coalition will permit the RDA to get in the saddle, with the unconscious and involuntary assistance of the opposition parties at the time of the coming elections."

Another RDA Party spokesman, Lamine Ba Fadiga who had just returned from Paris, said at Bouake on October 27, 1950, "The RDA has submitted too long to the nefarious influence of d'Arboussier and the party of the whites (he must mean the PCF). The program of Bamako has accordingly not been realized. Union is now possible. The internecine strife which ended only in regrettable incidents and in reinforcement of administrative guardianship should cease. May everyone have confidence in Houphonst."

The foregoing is interpreted by certain intelligence sources here as exemplary of the new Communist propaganda attack, rather than as a simple expression of revulsion for the Communists of France by the Africans. It is, perhaps a move to get the African Communists onto the track of racial consciousness, prepare the ground for thoughts of nationalism, and with the political manouvers now occurring, to reinstate the RDA as the predominant party in French Black Africa which has always been the hope and desire of the Cominform.

Our own interpretation of the situation is that it is entirely fluid at present. Further reports will be made as developments and the line-up become more clearly defined.

Note: This report was prepared hastily in order to catch the courier who leaves tonight and because the secret reports on which much of it was based only became available yesterday. There will not be another courier for a month. Further reports will be prepared on the basis of the material available but without identifying the source in order that a lower classification can be given to permit submission by unaccompanied air pouch. The sources of these French reports request that the fact that we have access to them be kept secret. It is requested that this request be respected particularly in any discussions with French officials.

*William D. McNamee, Jr.*  
William D. McNamee, Jr.  
American Consul General

Approved:

*John N. Pliakas*  
John N. Pliakas  
American Consul General

Copy to Paris.

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*GMW*

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TO : Department of State NEA  
 MESSAGE CENTER

FROM : DAKAR #127 December 16, 1950

1950 DEC 26 PH  
 REF : CONGEN DESPATCHES 110, APRIL 19; #50, SEPTEMBER 6;  
 # 121 DECEMBER 13, 1950.

SUBJECT : COMMUNIST AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN F.W.A.

751-Tw-901/12-1650  
350-751-Tw

317.101 No (see page 27 for outline)

S/2  
UNAI. Current Situation

The greater part of this report had already been prepared when the newspaper article by Senator Marc Rucart, submitted in translation with despatch No. 121, December 13, 1950, appeared. It is felt that the Department will still find the detailed information which has been collected to be of interest in connection with the broad story told by Senator Rucart. It is reasonably certain that some, at least, of this information regarding Communist and R.D.A. activities was available to him and was justification for his broad statements. This material has been selected as significant from highly classified documents, local newspapers and from conversation with appropriate officials.

The Department is already aware of the development of Communism in F.W.A. but the following brief summary of this development and the current confused situation, as given to us by various highly qualified officials, are repeated here as background for the remainder of this report.

DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

DEC 26 1950

OFFICE OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS

The R.D.A. (Rassemblement Démocratique Africain) was founded as an active party at Bamako, Soudan, in October, 1946 under the guidance of white French Communists. Up until recent months white French Communists working out of France openly guided and controlled the R.D.A. and its activities. This party had always worked within the framework of the French Union and as an affiliate of the French Communist Party. Quite a number of the parliamentarians from F.W.A. in the bodies sitting in Paris had been elected on the R.D.A. ticket. The R.D.A. was the first local F.W.A. party to engage actively in campaigning under the provisions of the Constitution of 1946.

In recent months three very important trends have become apparent. The first is that the non-Communist Black members of the Metropolitan parliamentary bodies have formed a bloc, - the Indépendants d'Outre Mer (IOM). Concurrent with this the Black members of the Grand Conseil of F.W.A. began in May to vote as a

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bloc with a distinctly racial flavor, something that he never been noticeable before.

The second trend is that of the R.D.A. getting out from under the domination of the Communist Party of France. This is not to say that the R.D.A., particularly its leaders, are no longer Communist or have ceased to admire the Soviets. The only thing that appears to be sure is that the R.D.A. is not willing to continue to take direction openly from White French Communists. It appears to be more and more a racial matter, which is, again, a new element in the demonstrated thinking of African leaders.

The third trend, which commenced more than a year ago and before the first two began, is the emergence among the natives of political parties which take as their main platform plank anti-R.D.A. activity. These parties are opposed to the R.D.A. and its leaders specifically, and to Communism in general. Although most of these parties are too new to have obtained the election of their candidates to the French Union Parliamentary bodies in the last election, many of the present F.W.A. parliamentarians who make up the IOM group are associating themselves with these anti-R.D.A. parties and some can be expected to run for reelection on their tickets.

The underlying purpose, and it is quite likely that there is one, of the first two trends, and the long range significance of all three trends plus the recent negotiations between the R.D.A. and IOM, are far from clear. It must be remembered that the R.D.A. "officially" broke with the Communist Party of France in January, 1949. Nevertheless, the Metropolitan C.P. continued to provide guidance and directives and send emissaries to the R.D.A. of F.W.A.; R.D.A. leaders continued to go to France for consultation; and a number of them have regularly gone behind the Iron Curtain for instruction and to attend Conferences.

The following newspaper quotation and local comment give the latest news on the position of the R.D.A.:

In its issue of December 9, 1950, the Dakar newspaper "Afrique Nouvelle" (Catholic, anti-Communist) quoted an article from Le Monde Paris, of December 4, without comment, but placed the title "The Rallying of the R.D.A. to the National Cause" in quotation marks to indicate their scepticism. Other papers also quoted Le Monde without comment. The Le Monde article said in part:

"The R.D.A., related to the Communists and Progressives until recent months, yesterday separated officially from them on the occasion when confidence (in the cabinet?) was on the agenda (à l'occasion de l'ordre du jour de confiance). In its (R.D.A.) name, M. Félix Techicaya, deputy from Middle Congo, recalled the origins of the movement.... Then he affirmed

that the RDA had never made systematic opposition to any government and that its vote of confidence would mark its conviction that France could and ought to bring political peace to the Overseas populations.

A little later, in his final speech, M. René Plevén hailed "the rallying to the national cause of M. Félix Techicaya."

Comment upon this in knowledgable quarters in Dakar is that evidently M. Plevén had not informed himself on the background and machinations which led up to the RDA move. Some say that he fell into a trap, and had not listened too carefully to what Techicaya actually said.

The following are representative and significant excerpts from a large volume of reports available to us and from memoranda prepared in this office from time to time on the basis of information received from reliable and informed sources during the past eight months. When read in the light of the most recent developments as described above, it is believed that an impression can be gained as to what may really be occurring here, and as to what the Cominform aims and techniques are. These excerpts and memoranda would appear to indicate that Cominform control, as expressed in techniques and patterns, did not cease at the time of the alleged RDA-CP break in January, 1949. It is certainly indicated that the influence of the Cominform did not stop during the summer of 1950 when the RDA idea of realigning with Parliamentary groups other than the Communists first began to be implemented.

Any comment which is not a quotation, or summary quotation from appropriate sources but is comment of this Office will be so indicated. The dates on the left margin indicate the time when the original report being quoted, or this Office's memorandum, was prepared.

## II

### BACKGROUND AND SIDE LIGHTS ON RDA-IOM NEGOTIATIONS. (Summary translation)

November 10 to 16, 1950

"The following is a brief summary of negotiations concerning the proposed alliance of the RDA with the IOM (Overseas Independents) party:

"On October 18 the IOM group made certain demands of Houphouet: Break with d'Arboussier and Franceschi (a white Communist Senator from Ivory Coast); Suppression of Dakar Communist newspaper Reveil; Official announcement of the break

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of the R.D.A. away from the Communist Party.

"On Oct. 21, the I.O.M. delegates observed that in many respects the attitude of Houphouet was equivocal, and following a third meeting, Oct. 23, 1950, the I.O.M. delegates informed their group that Houphouet had said it was difficult for him to separate himself from d'Arboussier, from whom he could break only on parliamentary matters, and that the conclusion of an I.O.M.-R.D.A. accord must be conditioned on the removal of Governor Pachoux (of Ivory Coast). Houphouet did agree to cease all financial aid to Reveil."

The source here points out that this statement of Houphouet's was doubtless not in good faith since Guy ETCHEVERRY, director of Reveil, let it be known at the end of October that Houphouet had just given him a subsidy of 500,000 francs CFA (1 million metropolitan francs) to refloat the paper.

The source mentions Leopold SENGHOR (BDS Deputy from Senegal) and Georges CONDAT (UNIS, Niger) as the only prominent men who were really favorable to and optimistic about IOM-RDA union by early November.

It is pointed out that, during this period of uncertainty and negotiation, "the Communist Party is avoiding taking part. The influence that it is in a position to exercise over Houphouet and his lieutenants is done only very discreetly." Reference is then made to various RDA leaders in FWA who continue to follow strictly the Communist line. Some, such as Djibrilla Maego and Toure SEKOU (delegate to Partisans of Peace, Warsaw) maintained direct contact with the Communist Party in France by visits there in November. Zatyr CAMARA was delegate from Senegal to Warsaw and there was a third, believed to have been Djibulla MAEGO of Upper Volta.

November 13th to November 26, 1950. (These T<sub>ranslation</sub>)

Mamadou COULIBALY, Counselor of the French Union, made the following statements to the members of the Party:

"Houphouet estimated that the incidents which took place at the beginning of the year were greatly prejudicial to the RDA. Its leaders had taken the wrong road, and realizing this, the RDA broke away from the CP. Houphouet tried to create the union of all African parliamentarians. These parliamentarians decided to meet on the 17th of October. Houphouet went to see the highest officials in the French Republic and announced to them his decision to break with the CP. His action resulted in encouraging and approving comments from the governmental sphere.".....

"Thus COULIBALY seems to be Houphouet's spokesman, but the oldest members of the RDA are not willing to follow Houphouet, even if d'Arboussier were to disappear from the political scene. They feel that they have been betrayed by the RDA and that the party should disappear. Thus Coulibaly's propaganda in favor of Houphouet failed among those who are in opposition to the RDA. Also they affirm that such propaganda is too clever to be true and that the disagreements which exist between d'Arboussier and Houphouet are purely personal and will never affect the Party's interests."

May 5 to May 11, 1950.

(Our Comment) The following are excerpts from earlier reports regarding the development of the uncertainty (or plotting) which culminated in the RDA-IOM negotiations. It will be observed that the authors of these reports generally maintain their conviction that despite uncertainties of the moment the RDA continues to be a creature of the Cominform.

May 5, to May 11, 1950.

"It does not seem as though the RDA were able to resolve the difficult problem of forming the framework of its party; the party leaders in the various territories have not been trained in the tough disciplines of underground struggle. The RDA leaders are intellectuals fed upon bourgeois traditions, having, more often than not, dreamed of high positions and rich marriages. Often they are disappointed, embittered, unsatisfied men, and they have thought that politics would bring them what they have not been able to obtain from the Administration. All they know of politics are the battles of the forum, and as a consequence their main actions are verbal. They gargle with metaphores, sonorous and empty phrases; this is characteristic of politicians and phonies."

June 30 to July 13, 1950.

"At the moment one can only form suppositions, since the Party's reorganization is not yet an accomplished fact. One can suppose that Moscow, estimating that the time has come, has decided to take direct charge of the support of the extremist African parties."

July 27, 1950.

"For the moment it is still impossible to judge clearly by the news, often contradictory, which appears on the new alignment to be taken by the RDA party. Locally, of course, no information can be obtained because the leaders in French West Africa know nothing of what is being plotted in Paris.

"Thus it seems that no actual decision has yet been taken. However, it is learned from a reliable source that Houphouet

has joined the 'Group of the Overseas Independants.' This reversal is rather unexpected and must hide something. Houphouet must keep within his heart a link with the Communists, but to give new strength to the RDA he may have been forced to consent momentarily to a change of opinion. In this way it will be easier for him to hide his nefarious pro-Communist activities."

August 17, 1950

"It may be supposed from recent information that Houphouet will decide to make public his new position with regard to the Communist Party. It is also learned that d'Arboussier has resigned from the RDA, giving as his reason the fact that his other duties leave him no time to take an active part in the Party. But it is supposed that on the contrary, he resigned because of his disagreements with Houphouet. Houphouet would then be the representative of the Indépendants d'Outre Mer, while d'Arboussier would remain as the most important person representing the Third International in Africa."

August 18, to 31, 1950.

"The political tendencies of the main leaders of the RDA party are now known. One group follows Houphouet and the other d'Arboussier. It is known that though Houphouet and d'Arboussier have gone their separate ways, the latter remains faithful to the Cominform.

"The two different tendencies will be seen in various parts of the Territory. It is already known that in Dakar there will be several followers of d'Arboussier (that is to say the Cominform), and the most influential representative will be YAYA TRAORE, ex-Secretary of the Union of Policemen, and Madame SEYDOU NOUROU TALL, d'Arboussier's sister.

"In Dakar there are many members of the UDS who will not accept the possibility of a rupture with the CP.

"Considering the majority of the members of the RDA, it must be admitted that most of them openly welcome the new alignment of the Party, but the same surely cannot be said of those members who have any actual responsibility. In fact it is known that the members of the GEC (Groupe d'Etudes Communistes) Communist Study Group, affirm the fact that they are RDA's, but that first of all they are Communists.

August 31, 1950.

"THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY IN THE TERRITORIES"

"Nothing definite yet on this subject. One must wait for the plans now being formulated in Paris.

"However, at ST. LOUIS the local GEC has decided to create a political bureau which is to be in charge of choosing the subjects which will be developed before the students of the HEC, and which is also to organize the surveillance of the Administration, and most particularly, to be in charge of drafting all correspondence for Moscow. This decision was made during a meeting on August 12.

"And this certainly is a proof of the direct contacts existing between the Communist Study Groups and Russia.

"At the same time it is learned that the RDA in ST. LOUIS has created its own political bureau for the surveillance of the Administration, for making up file cards on the principal officials of the Administration, and for corresponding with Communist and RDA parliamentarians.

September 22, 1950. (Close translation)

"Before analyzing the events which have taken place during the last fortnight, it would be interesting to say a few words on the evolution of the RDA.

"As soon as the schism of this party was announced, following Houphouet's decision to break away from his ex-friend d'Arboussier, certain people in France as well as in FWA felt they could freely say that the influence of the Communist Party in FWA had received a rude jolt. And at the beginning there was a general feeling of uncertainty among the leaders of the RDA, particularly among those who never go from Dakar to Paris. But if this feeling of uncertainty remains, it no longer has the same meaning. At the beginning it was a question of leading the Party in an entirely new direction, and its leaders, among them Houphouet, felt that it was necessary to break away from the Communist Party. But at the present time, if there is still talk of a new line to take and of independence, one feels that the time is no longer favorable in that the RDA will never be able to break away from the Communist Party.

"As soon as the Communists learned of Houphouet's decision, they just let time work on their side. And

they were well inspired in this for the other parties do not have the influence necessary to draw to themselves the RDA dissidents.

"Thus Houphouet's plan was a failure and it is almost certain that it is doomed to failure. And this may be considered a triumph for the Communists. They need only give firmer orders in the future.

"This opinion may be anticipatory, but it does seem that things will turn out this way, else the RDA which alone was not able to become a strong Nationalistic group, will no longer represent the wishes of the majority of its members and will automatically disappear. The members of the RDA would prefer to accept the patronage of the Communists than to disappear.

.....

"In the Soudan certain RDA leaders are changin their minds about the new leanings of the party. They already are of the opinion that the "break away" from the CP is but a rumor.....JIAMADI DIORY had a conference on Sept. 10, and during the public meeting declared:

"Our Party is not against anyone. It desires integral application of the Constitution, and it asks the support of all Africans of good will in this aim. Some people have tried to spread the evil rumor that the RDA was disorganized and was falling apart. That is not true! The RDA continues."

"It is not because the RDA feels that a common action would be effective that one should conclude that it is breaking away from the CP, for this same Diory ordered AEDOU GACH to asse mble the members of the GEC of NIAMEY on September 13. This group was to study Marxism and the colonial question, and DIORY himself instigated the program: Aims of the struggle for emancipation waged against Imperialism and Colonialism - Example of Indochina - Its Application to Black Africa - Struggle for National Independance."

October 27 to November 2, 1950.

Regarding the IOM-RDA deal:

The deal is not likely to work in Soudan because the IOM parliamentarians Fily Dabo SISSOKO, SYLVANDRE, DUCOURE, M'BODGE, YA DOUMBIA, appear not to have associated themselves with the deal and these men refuse to make any pact of alliance with the RDA.

November 3 to 9, 1950 (Summary translation)

The Communist-RDA newspapers ESSOR of Bamako, DEMOCRATE of Abidjan, and Coup de Bambou of Conakry continue their virulent Communist line in spite of the current official RDA policy of moving away from the Communist Party. Likewise,...."It is evident, even among those of the dullest intellect, that the CP propaganda has left its mark here and there. Thus LASSANA of LOUGA stated ( at St. LOUIS, November 4) that his comrades charged him to express at the next Party Congress their refusal to approve the principle of disassociation (with the Communist Party). The RDA sections of St. LOUIS, Diourbel and Tambacounda have expressed identical points of view. Cissoko FAMADY, militant Dakar RDA leader, on a speaking tour in Soudan proclaimed that the disassociation was not yet an accomplished fact and that it was nothing but a tall story put out by the reactionary press."

It is reported, however, that the majority of the 'UDS (RDA-SENEGAL) (RDA party for Senegal) at Dakar approve the action of Houphouet to join their party with the IOM.

Etchiverry is expected back in Dakar shortly, probably to revive the Communist-line newspaper Reveil.(see page 4)

With the current general confusion over the political affiliations of the RDA, the party is reported to be losing ground among the population in certain areas. In the interior of Ivory Coast there is little enthusiasm for renewing membership. The publicly expressed differences of opinion among the leaders in Upper Volta is said to have turned the masses away from them with a sense of having been deceived.

(Our Comment)

It will be observed from reports quoted in this section, and elsewhere in this report, that a number of African RDA militants adhere to the straight Communist line and ignore the changes in point of view implied by the deal with IOM. On the basis of these detailed reports, and of reports quoted in following sections concerning organization and propaganda, one can understand the scepticism and forebodings expressed by Senator Ruwart (Desp. #121).

October 5th, 1950

HAMANI DIORI, deputy from the Niger, recently made the following statements (to his followers) concerning the RDA -

"The RDA must become the party of the African masses. It must aim at unity of action. It must reach all classes of society if it wants to be influential. From now on the decisions will no longer be taken by the Coordination Committee, but by

the parliamentary group which will broadcast its orders to the territorial secretaries. It is probable that the Paris Coordination Committee and its delegation in Abidjan will be eliminated: the new central group will have its seat in Dakar. But this problem will not be solved until the re-opening of the sessions of the "Chambres". G. d'Arboussier will only be in charge of strictly international questions and of liaison with the French Communist Party. Our real aim is the creation of the AFRICAN ELOC; and we must accomplish this unity of aim at the base; all our efforts must concentrate on this.

"The RDA parliamentarians will try to vote the same way as the members of the Independents d'Outre Mer. And if necessary they will go as far as unity of action too."

(Our Comment)

This statement of Diori is interpreted by students of the problem as highly significant in the use of the words "will try to vote" and "if necessary...as far as unity of action -" as demonstrating that the RDA-IOM deal is nothing but a subterfuge to allay suspicion while Cominform inspired organization is being rebuilt along new lines in Black Africa.

III.

ORGANIZATION AND TECHNIQUE OF THE RDA

April 20, 1950.

"The Chef de la Sureté of the Ivory Coast made the following appreciation of the present situation in this territory, the day after the BASSAM trial: "Following the incidents which took place in January and February, the RDA is abstaining from all spectacular activity. It is working in a semi-clandestine way. By regrouping its forces, by door-to-door propaganda, by the effect of the press and especially by the obedience of its chiefs to the orders from the Communist Party, it has become "par excellence" the possible instrument of direct and generalized activity in Black Africa.""

May 19 to May 25, 1950.

"From the amount of information available this week there stands out a circular of the UDS. (Union Démocratique du Sénégal - RDA affiliate). Although this basic document has no date, it must be very recent since, essentially, it carries arguments drawn directly from Stalinist doctrines which the St. Louisan DIOUP, Ousseynou recently brought out in a public meeting. The editing of this circular must unquestionably have been performed by technicians of the

Communist Party. This document sets forth the principle of the character of necessity for the creation of "undertaking" (action?) committees in the work yards, offices and work shops, where there is at least one adherent. The action committees are called upon to double the sub-sections of the district, and little by little, to obtain primacy over these basic groups:

Excerpts from the RDA document:

"This reorganization arises out of our conception of a mass movement which we are. We must, in effect, reach those elements whose duties keep them at their place of work. It is there that our comrades can best know the state of mind of the workers, their customs and gain their confidence—the committee members will doggedly excite their demands which will only have revolutionary value in the measure that they are directed against the whole colonial system. They will organize recruiting; they will participate in economic conflicts.

"At this price the action committee will not only be a propaganda instrument at the place of work, it will constitute the organic basis of the movement. Clandestine work will be avoided as a principle of the action committee. Demands of a general nature will be the subject of reports to the officers of the section. The committee meetings will take place preferably immediately after work, with concern for political order. They will take place inside or near the place of work.

"The central responsible men will be designated later by elections. In the meantime, provisionally responsible men have been named by the officers of the UDS. These provisional animators will be charged with setting up definitive executive boards. The following are the first targets: Posts, Telegraph and Telephones; Governments of Senegal and Mauretania (2 distinct committees); Treasury; Direct Taxes; Hospital, Meteorology; Blanchot School; Water and Forestry; Quarter-masters Department (army); Public Works; Pharmacy; Public Instruction; Health; Commercial employees; SOGETRA; COFRACO."

The region north of the Senegal appears to have the first attention of this reorganization. It will be interesting to follow the evolution led by the RDA to develop these committees. It seems unlikely that these new groups, despite the wishes of their promoters, will be called to replace the existing sub-sections at an early date.

It is possible, after all, that the RDA expects to limit its (new) experiment to the Senegal river region. The minutes

of the congress of the "Parti Progressiste Tchadien," held at Fort Lamy recently, offer certain verification that the RDA places itself more clearly within the orbit of the Communist Party; nevertheless, no reference was made there to the necessity for creating action committees, although Deputy Lisette deplored the fact that the industrial proletariat of Fort Lamy was not the target of any propaganda.

A Circular of December 26, 1949, warned that no suspect person must be admitted to RDA meetings in Ivory Coast. This Circular was re-issued in May.

B. May, 1950.

On April 27, Doudou Gueye at a meeting in Thies said: "Of the 26 divisions that France must furnish in case of war, we will not be forgotten. We do not wish it and we are perfecting a propaganda for the demoralization of the Army."

The judicial authorities are seeking a way to prosecute him for this statement.

Hamani Diori returns from France to Niamey, Niger in June, bringing new instructions from the PCF adapted to RDA needs - and campaign lines for the election campaign starting in July.

November, 1950.

EDICI (strongest anti-RDA part of Ivory Coast) finds that RDA agents have joined their party for infiltration, etc. They are now attempting to eliminate them. (An RDA directive observed earlier ordered certain particularly accomplished militants to join the EDICI).

May 26, 1950.

During a meeting organized at CONAKRY, French Guinea, on April 26, 1950, before a group of 250 people, an unusual abundance of virulent formulas was noted: "We are allies of Communism and friends of Stalin," declared BABA CAMARA. Another orator, SEKOU TOURE, praised Maurice Thorez to the skies and in conclusion cried out:

"Never will French Communists and we of the RDA fight against Russia. Africans, do you not think it is better to collaborate with DUCLOS, COT, THOREZ, etc...rather than with the HERRIOTS, DALADIERS, DE GAULIES, friends of the socialists BECHARD and PECHOU?"

The audience was unanimous in its affirmative answer. MADEITA KEITA proclaimed that he was in charge of telling the audience about the nature of the relations existing between the French Communist Party and the RDA.

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"It is a total alliance of our party with the Communists. The RDA is an affiliate of the CP. And it is the group which will be victorious tomorrow. Thanks to the French Communist Party, defender of the French Union, the Africans will be in charge of their own affairs. Such a dictatorship will be a light one for us, and a very heavy one for the exploiters, the blood-suckers..."

All the orators ended their talks by shouting:

"Vive the French Communist Party, Vive Thorez, Vive the RDA"

That was the first time that this will to be subjected to the leadership of the Communists was openly proclaimed during an open meeting. The meeting was a great success.

June 15, 1950.

The Report outlining the activities of the RDA during the past year was to be presented during the TIES Conference which was to take place May 28. The meeting did not take place as too few members were present. It was postponed until August 14.

This Report contains, first of all, quotations from the advice given by d'Arboussier in a note dated December, 1949. He reminds that:

"At all levels of the social scale there are claims present which at any moment can create a mass action whose effectiveness is certain. As soon as a claim or demand is formulated within committee, the support of the masses should be crystallized around this claim."

He goes into detail saying:

"Every time it might become necessary, the responsible leaders of the party must be changed so that the line traced by the Party should be integrally preserved."

He also said that:

"After the indispensable changes (dismissals), the Party was filled with a renewal of activity. Encouraging results were everywhere obtained."

(This sounds somewhat prophetic of his "departure" from the RDA).

November 26, 1950. (An RDA leader's meeting)

At Treichville, Tiemoko Boniface...demanded of all members present:

"You will not fail to explain in your committees that we must unite ourselves with all those who are not RDA but who in their parties struggle for the interests of Africa. We must even seek to unite ourselves with those who do us the most harm."

Hamani Diori (RDA Deputy from Niger) has made a number of statements (to his followers) in which he has maintained that it is essential: "To form a bloc. Houphouet and d'Arboussier have so decided." (He alleges that the disagreement between these two leaders is of no importance for the future of the party). "After the elections each party will be able to assume its liberty of action. Act with prudence and softness. It is acting in this manner that Russia incorporated to herself all the Peoples of Central Europe."

## IV

Themes for Agitation and Propaganda

April 15, 1950.

Arguments put Forth by the RDA:

"To join the RDA is to prove one's loyalty to France." Those, particularly in remote areas, who hesitate to join are told that: "The Governor also belongs to the RDA, those who come around with membership cards are envoys of the Government; those who have no card will be forced to pay a fine to the police." Elsewhere they try to maintain the myth of the omnipotence of the Party and of its leaders: at Toumodi, the propagandists propose at the end of secret meetings arguments such as this:

"Houphouet will come back from France bringing with him an army which will drive out the French Administration, the police and the military; the Inspector-General of the Colonies who is in charge of an inquiry at Toumodi is a member of the RDA. Members of the Party must not be afraid of being arrested: Houphouet will see that they are freed"....etc.

In the issue of the Démocrate (RDA newspaper, Abidjan) of April , No. 37, this editorial appeared.

"The days we are living in are terrible days. Hundreds and hundreds of men, women and children are arrested daily in our towns and villages. They are questioned with the whip. They are tortured by starvation and humiliation. They are moved from prison to prison to conceal the cruelty and foul deeds of the hangmen. Care is refused them. They are watched dying with pleasure and their bodies are tossed into a ditch.

"No one can describe today the real hideousness of their crimes, no one can measure the extent! The ornamented brigands (civil and military officials) attempt to conceal their misdeeds. But a crime is like smoke that cannot be smothered."

(Our Comment)

We are reliably informed by officials, private individuals and missionaries that nothing of this sort was going on. It appears that this type of story, often repeated, is, when questioned, always found to have occurred "in some other village". Its purpose is believed to be only to inflame the less enlightened masses.

April 21 to 27, 1950.

Among the propaganda brochures which make it possible for the responsible men in the RDA to conserve their faith in its future, let us cite this week the Reports of "Comrades SOUSLOV, TOGLYATTI, and GEORGHIU DEJ, during the meeting of November, 1949, at the information bureau of the Communist and Worker's Party." "These reports," declares BARBE who is in charge of their distribution, "are indispensable guides for all those who have decided to fight against Imperialism, against the colonial régime, for the war for National Liberation, for a true Democracy, and for Peace...."

May 18, 1950.

Propaganda, methods and slogans.

The most important spot must be reserved for the conference held on May 11 at St. Louis by the Union Démocratique Sénégalaïse. (UDS). 500 persons had answered the appeal of the organizers. Among the audience there were to be seen several representative elements of the Socialist Party and of the EDS.

DIOP OUSSEYNOU, the teacher, opened the series of conferences. His subject, "How to liberate Africa from colonialist oppression" made it possible for him to demonstrate how on many points he had assimilated the Communist doctrine. From his exposé we will comment upon the following affirmations -:

"The colonialists have created a bourgeoisie among the aborigines to maintain the masses under the yoke. Religious beliefs have been used to the maximum, Marabouts fell for this ignoble game and betrayed the Koran. The parliamentaries are maintained in their sinecures thanks to the gratuities handed out to them. In Black Africa, Democracy is a word taken in vain."

"We can participate in the struggle for liberation only at the side of the French Communist Party, the good People of Stalin's Russia, and the People's Democracies. Yet it is not a question of telling the French, 'Pack up your bags and go home'. For we would then fall into the hands of the English or the Americans. We know what we would be leaving, but we do not know what we would be getting. The French constitution gives us sufficient rights, all we ask is its application."

June 15, 1950.

Propaganda (Close Translation)

The RDA leaders have put the final touches on the orders to be given to the Dockers of Port Bouet and Vridi which are to incite them into refusing to take part in the disembarkation of war matériel from the USA.

Another form of propaganda: The RDA leaders spread false rumors such as the one about the arrest of the main officials of the French Administration. They complement these rumors with warnings: "Those who follow the Whites will be thrown in prison as all the French will be, only RDA members will be sure of remaining free..." etc., etc.

And finally, others do not hesitate to preach hatred of the White Man: "Every African must avoid all personal contact with the Whites who must eventually disappear from our country."

Still others attack the Lebanese as being too rich...However, all are in agreement that the "real" Whites are more dangerous than the Lebanese.

Among the false rumors spread abroad these last few days, the following is interesting to note: "The French have put poison in the bread and the beer."

It seems as though an intensification of activity can be noted in the sphere of propaganda, an activity which must be carried on without respite each day in the improvement of its methods. Quoted from an RDA directive: "We must not be afraid of fatigue if we wish to succeed, so let us not fail to do daily work on propaganda. We must ceaselessly repeat the slogans given us by our leaders, and fight inch by inch the White institutions which exist only to enslave us. Our liberty and our happiness will depend upon our untiring activity in this domain."

June 1, 1950. (Close translation)

Apparently by instruction from elsewhere, false reports

were circulated in May from RDA sources. In this vast area of poor communications phony stories can go far and be very effective before they can be denied. Often they are current for so long that denial is not effective. They are obviously designed to create confusion and to support specific Communist aims in the minds of the people. Here is an example noted on May 22, 1950:

"Houphouet has been named mayor of Abidjan, like Lamine Gueye of Dakar. Houphouet will invite all the white men of Ivory Coast to a party in celebration. The Grand Imam of the Mosque congratulated him and encouraged him to pursue his political action."

The RDA parliamentarians claim entire credit for the construction of a mosque and the water supply in the poor part of Niamey.

Doudou Gueye in a speech before 300 persons at St. Louis, May 24, said:

"America is creating in France, in a circuituous manner, an arsenal of war, destined to support the fight against Russia. A general staff will be installed at Fontainebleau; Marshal Montgomery will head the operations while France will furnish twenty divisions. When you realize the French army is composed mostly of colonial troops, we will have to furnish 13 to 15 divisions... Our land is going to be inundated with American products, and invaded by American vegetable oil (note: largest export of FWA). Already they have tried to drain the products of Ivory Coast through the port of Monrovia in order to create profitable activity for Liberia, USA satellite, and to the prejudice of the ports of Abidjan and Conakry....

"The heros are not those who facilitated the French penetration by firing on their racial brothers (meaning Black French troops); our heros are those who opposed the conquest from which we today suffer the consequences."

(It is noted that this type of talk seems rather transparent, but is effective on the limited mentality of the African)

A new slogan in the anti-White campaign was invented by RDA leader Quezzin Coulibaly in Démocrate, May 25: "The savages are those who treat us as savages."

[REDACTED]

INDEPENDENCE PRESS CONFERENCE

X

July 13, 1950 (Close Translation)

The RDA emphasized the fact that since America was the aggressor in Korea, it was heartily on the side of Russia which wants Peace exactly as the African wants Peace. And it added that the Democratic Government of North Korea is fighting for a righteous cause and that Africans must realize that: "The Communist Party is on the right side, that which proclaims the necessity for the constitution of a democratic government."

IV., A. Appearance of Racism as An Issue. (See also p. 15)

July, 1950. (Our summary and comment)

The Communist propaganda in FWA, both in speeches and in the Communist press normally avoids racial agitation carefully. Even their attacks on the "Colonialists" and the "Imperialists" assiduously skirt any racial discrimination and mistreatment of negroes in the United States". This propaganda has held fairly closely to the principles set forth in the Constitution of the Fourth Republic, by which all natives of FWA became citizens for the French Union co-equally with all other French citizens.

For the first time observed by this Office, the racial question has been brought into the open in Reveil for June 26, 1950. In this issue, four articles made reference to racial matters. It is possible that the policy line had been received from the Communist Party of France, or perhaps from the Cominform which is known to guide the editorial policy of this newspaper, to open up on the racial question. After reading this entire issue of the paper, the impression is gained that an effort is now being made to shift the attack against the Administration for its repressive measures against the RDA (Communist) party from political to racial grounds.

Reveil for June 26, 1950, carried a boxed editorial on its front page, headlined: "Halte aux Provocations Racistes" (Stop Racial Provocations) which reads in part and in translation:

"We have said and repeated that the High Commissioner Béchard spends his time in traveling, making speeches, giving parties, and harrasing the militant democrats and trade union leaders. On the other hand the administrative stewardship is catastrophic.

"Scandals splash all domains of the high administrative sphere, and schemes multiply to cover them. It is no longer sufficient to steal

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and be covered. Today young Europeans, encouraged by the racist and repressive policy of the Administration, engage in a series of provocations in Dakar."

The editorial then discusses the case of a taxi driver who was killed recently by two soldiers. It next told of an incident which occurred on June 20, 1950, while the RDA was attempting to hold a meeting in their usual meeting place. Europeans living in a neighboring building, employees of NOSOCO, a large commercial firm, attempted to break up the meeting by making a good deal of noise; "...voicing insults, yelling and shouting like veritable savages."

"The RDA militants maintained cool heads and continued with their meeting. There was a crowd in the street. The whole neighborhood was disturbed by these young savages. It was only the police who did not appear to do its duty.

"African comrades, we must prepare our counter-stroke. We hope, however, that the management of NOSOCO will bring its employees to respect the inhabitants of this country; if not, the inhabitants will know how to make themselves respected."

As far as can be learned, only the Communists have seen "racism" in the murder of the taxi driver. No additional information is available regarding the insults directed at the RDA meeting. A little shouting has frequently been indulged in between members of opposing political groups on the streets of Dakar, but up to the present, and including the case in question, there has been no violence.

Since the time of the preparation of the foregoing memorandum the racial theme has appeared in articles in Reveil and the other Communist-inspired newspapers of FWA. As has been pointed out in previous reports from this Office, the RDA press and propaganda formerly appeared to avoid playing the race tune; they did at times refer to "colonial oppressors" but not on a racial basis. It can be presumed that the order to let the racial issue enter the propaganda was passed out at the same time that definite plans were made to re-orient the aims of the RDA.

IV., B. Evidence of Anti-French Propaganda. (See also P.16)

May, 1950. (Close translation)

"It appears that the resignation of G'Bon Coulibaly

is definite. This threw Ivory Coast RDA leaders into consternation. G'Bon said May 12th that he 'would remain neutral.'

"May 21st an RDA delegation visited him. He said: 'Formerly I knew neither the RDA nor Houphouet. It was the French who in giving them importance have shown them to me....now that they declare themselves to be against the French, I have nothing more in common with them. I am old and I do not wish to be disturbed. I wish to remain neutral.'

"(In view of G'Bon's venerable distinction this is taken as confirmation of the fact that the RDA was founded by French Communists and that RDA policy is now anti-French.)

"KENOBI, Chef de Canton de Tion, Cercle Ouagadougou, resigned in a letter saying, 'Since 1948 until now the RDA has fooled and deceived me. I experience now a great joy in resigning.'

"Pierre HUBERSON, Secretary of Communists of PDCI, in an agitation trip of one month near MAN, announced in a public meeting at ~~Timbuktu~~ Toulepleu; 'the Russians will arrive shortly in French West Africa and will kick the French out.' Since he had no authorization to hold this meeting, he was sentenced May 15, 1950, to five months in prison at Man."

May, 1950. (Close translation)

The petitions for forbidding the atom bomb were circulated nearly all over FWA in May. Issue 17 of April 28th of the Cominform organ, Pour une Paix Durable, which gave instruction on this petition, found its way to FWA. An RDA orator said at a meeting in Bobo-Dioulasso, May 14th; "The African policemen are traitors in the pay of the Europeans. They are worse than the whites."

On the other hand, Doudou Gueye said in Thies, April 27th; "In the event of incidents, the Administration must not count on the Africans in the Police, nor on the young European police officers."

(Our comment)

(The following two items are quoted from l'Humanité, the Paris Communist Party paper. This is done for the reason that l'Humanité is fairly widely read in FWA

and the articles in question were repeated by local RDA papers. Similar statements have appeared frequently in the RWA RDA press both before and after these articles were run, and continue up to the present).

From l'Humanité of April 8, 1950.

"On the evening of April 7, at the 'Mutualité', a meeting was held on 'the struggle of the African workers for the defense of liberty and peace.' André Tollet, Secretary General of CGT, presided. AFFALE Charles, Vera Cardot, and Mamadou Konaté attended. Diallo Abdoulaye, in a speech, denounced the numerous violations of liberty of which the African workers are victims. Every day the Constitution is violated by a ferocious administration which is trying to bring back the days of slavery. But the African people courageously conduct the fight, ceaselessly denouncing their exploiters; their combat falls under the heading of the struggle against imperialism and for peace."

From l'Humanité of April 6, 1950.

"Speaking before the XII Congress of the Communist Party, Leon FEIX, member of the central committee, said in part:

'An American, at times English, seizure of the overseas territories is developing with the full consent of the French Government. In the economic field...the Americans who appropriate also the "strategic minerals;" lead, tin, manganese, cobalt of Morocco, nickel of New Caledonia, Bauxite and iron of Guinea...In the strategic field, André Marty has pointed out,...the importance that Indo-China presents as a beach-head for the American imperialists; it is the same for Black Africa and North Africa of which they wish to make a solid base for the war they are preparing. For this purpose they have had (the French) to construct strategic roads and airports.'

"Referring to the 'sabotage of the Constitution of 1946', he said (that the Administration has brought about) 'the reestablishment of forced labor in Black Africa.'"

From the Démocrate, June 24, 1950.

In an article entitled, "Forced Labor", a case

was made to "prove" that "forced labor" was being re-introduced. Cases were cited in which natives were fined for failing to report to work.

"Colonialism, in all possible ways, seeks to re-establish forced labor because it needs cheap slave labor to work on the plantations and on the roads. We have reason to say, that without the RDA, forced labor would already have been re-established in Ivory Coast. The Administration knows this well and this is why it directs all its attacks against the RDA in order to destroy it as an anti-colonialist movement..."

(Our comment)

This is only another of many cases in which the RDA has assumed credit for any and all improvements to the discredit of the French administrators who, incidentally, are not all white men. Forced labor was abolished before the RDA party was invented, and the regulations and procedures which assure that it stays abolished were drawn up and in good operative order before the RDA ever mentioned the subject.

V

RDA Attempts to Infiltrate Moslem Groups, and Moslem Reaction to This.

April 14 to 20, 1950. (Close translation)

Among the rare supporters who can be counted on by the RDA in the world of Islam, let us mention the Iman of Safane (Upper Volta) who has recently been in the habit of proclaiming at the end of public prayers that: "One day the Russians will come to take over the country; and those who will not have taken sides with the RDA will be killed."

From the Démocrate, (RDA newspaper), April 26, 1950.

"The Words of an Old Moslem

"Formerly we did not have the right to pray. Forced labor, requisitions, obligatory cultivation, made slaves of us. Our entire lives were devoted to working to enrich the colonialists. Our souls were sick because we did not have the

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time to pray. The RDA came. It healed our souls in making freer men of us Moslems. Today we can pray as we wish and as often as we wish. We know that we owe this to the RDA."

From the Démocrate 40, April 26, 1950

"What do the Moslems of North Africa think of the matter, they who for years have submitted to the 'Paix Française?' And the 40,000 victims who were bombed, crushed, shot and disembowelled in Algeria by the colonialist troops in May, 1945. Are these the undeniable advantages brought by the 'French colonization'?

"The Syrian Moslems in sweeping the French occupants from their soil in June, 1945; the North African Moslems in struggling against colonialism despite savage repression, and African Moslems in joining the RDA have answered and continue to answer, as should be, the propaganda directly inspired by the 'Bureau Politique.'"

(Our comment)

This type of propaganda has appeared recently but in fairly mild form, probably because of the uncertainties of the day. It is reported, however, that the RDA agitators assigned to the job continue to work on the Moslems covertly as well as openly.

Some competent sources say that the Arab League and the RDA work together on anti-Administration propaganda, each using the other to further its own purposes. This reported use of the RDA by the Arab League is, however, mainly on the basis of the RDA being an "African", rather than a "Communist" party. It is also said in some informed circles that the Syrians and some of the Lebanese give financial aid to the RDA for the eventual purpose of sweeping the French out of FWA as they did in Syria, thus making FWA safe for Islam. It should be noted that there are now some 45,000 Syrians and Lebanese in FWA, the great majority of whom are Moslems, and many of whom are known to maintain contact with the Arab League.

May, 1950

Penetration of various milieu. (Close translation)

1. Moslem.

The categoric stand taken by the Cherif of Kankan on the RDA on the occasion of a recent ceremonial visit

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to Bamako, threw the Union Soudanaise into consternation. The supreme spiritual leadership exercised by the Cherif in the area (he has some two million followers) and his strong stand against Communism created a situation in which all those who came to render homage to him were compelled to renounce their RDA political opinions. The Communist newspaper ESSOR of Bamako took the occasion to denounce the "Colonialists" for using spiritual methods to mask their plans, and for attempting to swindle the Marabouts out of their spiritual influence.

The strong and decisive stand taken by the Cherif is considered to have brought up sharply the advance of RDA penetration of Moslem ranks in Upper Guinea and South-East Soudan.

On the other hand, intelligence reports say that the RDA is on the verge of taking in, or at least attempting to take in, "all of the Hamallist ~~Maxim~~ Moslem sect in Niger." The Hamallists are reported to be quite willing to pay dues and give financial support.

On May 17 Cheick Fanta Mody, Cherif of Kankan, spoke at Bamako before five thousand persons. He enjoined all Soudanese to cease all politics against God and the French who had done so much good in Black Africa, to turn against whom would be an unpardonable crime.

"All Moslems must return to the way of God and of his Prophet, who recommend to all the faithful the maximum of respect for all authorities."

On May 18, 25,000 faithful paraded before him.

## VI

### Government Action in Combatting RDA.

May 26 to June 1, 1950 (Close translation)

RDA Ivory Coast ordered membership cards printed in France. Twenty-one cases of cards arrived. There ensued trouble with customs regarding false declarations of description. Customs proposed abandonment of shipment and a fine of 1000 francs, otherwise they would take the case to court at Bassam. The RDA preferred not to go to court and are using corrected 1949 cards in the meantime.

## (Our summaries and comment)

In October, Dr.-Col. Clerc, one of the top surgeons of the military and administration "Hôpital Principal" of Dakar was removed from his post and sent elsewhere. Dr.-Col. Clerc had been active in promoting the distribution of Reveil and had taught Communist doctrines on the side to African students at the medical college in Dakar.

November, 1950. The government appears to be continuing its policy of displaying a firm hand in support of justice for those RDA leaders who were involved in any way with the riots and disorders in Ivory Coast of January, 1950, thus discrediting them in the eyes of the masses. As an example of this, one Kouame Kamounou, Secretary General of the subsection of Daloa was recently sentenced to seven months in prison for swindling. It appears that he had levied cash contributions on five villages for the reconstruction of huts destroyed during the troubles, but he failed to rebuild any huts. Three other RDA leaders in the area are being prosecuted for similar activities.

A decree of November 10, 1950 forbids the circulation and display of posters, etc. entitled "Union Internationale des Etudiants 10-17-XI-1950, Semaine Internationale des Etudiants" published at Prague.

In October, the RDA members of St. Louis, who protested against the sentencing to prison of Doudou Gueye (editor of Reveil) were prosecuted for contempt of court.

Legal proceedings in matters of this kind appear to have a very salutary effect on the African mentality. It is true that the "cause" frequently acquires martyrs in this manner, but, according to experienced police officials, those militants who delight to thumb their noses at authority lose much of their enthusiasm when they learn that such gestures can be punished.

It is understood that the Sureté during the past year has developed better sources of information so that in many cases they can prevent ~~an~~ individual cases of subversive activity before they happen.

## VII

## TRADE UNIONS (Our Comment)

Trade Unions, notably the fellow-travelling CGT,

have been very quiet during recent months. It is the opinion of our sources and ourselves that CGT activity is being held in suspense until the political party line-up becomes clear. The fact that several of the RDA leaders are also CGT leaders would account for the present quiet. At the same time, no one expects the CGT to alter its Communist sympathies.

In the background is the WFTU project reported in our despatch No. 50 of September 6, 1950. Nothing further of an active or concrete nature has been heard of this plan recently. It is believed in security circles that the WFTU, and whatever Cominform direction it may have, is also waiting for the political party lines to clarify before proceeding actively.

There have been a few strikes in the Federation during recent months, most of them led by the CGT. Although some of them were intended to be parts of widespread movements, according to sources they did not turn out that way.

## VIII

### (SUMMARY COMMENTS)

The situation as regards the three trends mentioned in the beginning of this report appears to continue to be fluid although, according to our sources as shown in the quotations, translations and summaries of reports, the influence of the Cominform is still to be seen in RDA activities. Unless, as ~~WILHELM~~ was once suggested, the Communist doctrines had been so well taught that they continue on their own momentum, it is more than likely that Cominform directives are slowly and quietly building up the pressure in regard to nationalism and racialism. This would certainly account for the CP-RDA split.

The original formula which provided that the RDA and CP work together within the framework of the French Union with the aim of moving the entire Union into the Cominform orbit, is completely inconsistent with what are apparently the two newly adopted guiding principles: Racialism and Nationalism.

This is largely speculation on the part of our contacts, but seems to be a justified deduction on the basis of the changes in the propaganda line as can be seen by noting the dates on the various quotations and translations in this report.

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No estimate appears to be possible at the present time regarding the strength of the RDA party, or of its likely course of action in the near future, beyond the statements of its own leaders as quoted in this report. Even the statement earlier in the year by Doudou Gueye that the Administration would not be able to count on the native police, is understood to have an element of truth in it. This statement was generally considered to be propaganda, but one of the worries of the Sureté chiefs has been the reliability of some of its own native policemen.

The writer is of the opinion that most of the French authorities concerned are fully aware of the possible menace provided by the machinations of the RDA, and are doing their best to combat it, using methods adapted to the peculiarities of local conditions and the African mentality. These authorities feel that they have the RDA and other Communist influences well under control in Dakar, but are apprehensive about the outlying and more remote areas. In this widespread Federation inhabited by people of little or no education there is always the fear that well planned agitation on racial and nationalist grounds can easily inflame the populations to any line of action.

*William D. Moreland Jr.*  
William D. Moreland, Jr.  
American Consul

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FROM: AMCONGEN DAKAR, #145, January 11, 1951

REF: CONGEN DESPATCH #127, <sup>1950</sup> DECEMBER 16, 1950 PM 18564SUBJECT: Position and Tendencies of the Communist-inspired RDA  
Party in FWA.

There is transmitted herewith a close translation of an official local document of the highest classification and of the most restricted distribution which was prepared late in December, 1950. Because of circumstances the Department is requested to treat this report as SECRET.

The enclosed report does not perhaps add much of a substantial nature to our Despatch 127 of December 16, 1950, which was prepared on the basis of information obtained from a variety of sources, but it may be of interest to the Department as a summary study by a new high French Security official, of the Communist-inspired elements in FWA, and notably of the effects of the RDA-ICM negotiations upon local political interests.

It will be observed that the position of the RDA as regards the Communist Party, or any other influence is still officially undefined, but that a clear break away from Communist ideology and acceptance of Cominform guidance has definitely not occurred at the working level.

*William D. Moreland, Jr.*  
William D. Moreland, Jr.  
American Consul

Approved by:

*John N. Plakias*  
John N. Plakias  
American Consul General

Enclosure: *Att*

Gloss translation of highly classified  
local document.

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CLOSE TRANSLATIONCHAPTER ISITUATION OF THE RDA IN THE TERRITORIESOrientation of the Party.

At the time when the parliamentarians of the RDA party, during the last few weeks, affirmed by significant votes in the National Assembly their will to express the non-ambiguous character of their divorce from the Communists, the principle of the opportunity of disassociation is, in the Federation, admitted with less and less willingness not only by the RDA but also by the representatives of the other political groups who should be called upon to conclude a pact of alliance with HOUPHOUET's partisans.

During the month of November and during these last few days the taking of a stand hostile to the joining up (with HOUPHOUET's) group has strengthened on all sides with such clarity that one does not see how it will be possible to soften the immovable will of the defenders of the status quo. To these remarks there can now be added the additional view that the Communist Party, which is refraining categorically from putting a curse upon those who are making pacts with the non-Marxist groups, is having those elements of the RDA which are devoted to the Communist Party enter the lists (faire entrer en lice les éléments du RDA qui lui sont dévoués), so that one can already say that the direction imposed upon the RDA by HOUPHOUET and his colleagues will shortly meet with a particularly virulent opposition in the very heart of the RDA party, an opposition inspired by the Third International.

However, it would be foolhardy to advance these views too pre-emptorily, as it is so very obvious that even the firmest opposition can at any time be influenced by entirely personal considerations: the local leaders are very obviously haunted by the fear of irrevocably compromising their material position; and the variations in attitude or the temporary retractions typical of some of them at the moment when their party is looking for its pathway are justified by the fact that when they are wondering about the results of HOUPHOUET's decision, they sometimes are doubtful of the success of the operation: they then remember their Marxist training and they have a tendency to employ, as they used to do, propaganda arguments and themes for agitation, whose effectiveness is only too well known to them.

We will summarily analyse the different commentaries brought on by HOUPHOUET's action, and the forms taken by the new orientation of the party, not only in the RDA camp itself, but in the other political groups.

Certain observers are of the opinion that, even under the hypothesis that the President of the RDA should not be able to conclude electoral agreements with the Indépendents d'Outre-Mer, the negotiations which he has so far carried out have nonetheless been profitable to him. They have been profitable to him in the measure in which they have succeeded in modifying the hostility to which he and his group were subjected at the time when the events of the Ivory Coast were to be discussed in the National Assembly. It seems very strange that at the very time when the President of the Conseil granted a favor (satisfecit) to Mr. TCHICAYA, and indirectly, to the whole of the group which had expressed its willingness to support the policy of the Government, the parliamentary majority considered it (hardly?)\* opportune to cancel the immunity of the leader of those same supporters. And these same observers add that, in the present juncture, and also because of the promises given by the RDA group, the discussion about these events becomes less acute (revêt un moindre caractère d'urgence).

The lower echelon leaders and the militants do not seem to have foreseen this immediate objective. Will HOUPHOUET be able to convince his troops of the necessity for an agreement with the Indépendents d'Outre-Mer? It is known that he can count on the loyalty of his colleagues in the Assemblies of Metropolitan France, because they have the same desire to assure their reelection, or because they seem to have, like KONATE, admitted the evil of the Communist influence, and they act like the zealous defenders of the breakaway. We will only make a summary of their most recent mistakes, mistakes vis-à-vis the enemies to whom they wished to draw closer as well as vis-à-vis those elements which are the most representative of their own party.

#### The Soudan.

The pro-Communist clan of the Soudanese Union which is animated by MODIBO KEITA and his brother KASSE KEITA, is disobeying the orders for conciliation given by KONATE: that is why a telegram addressed to the Partisans of Peace appeared in the Essor of November 14, on the occasion of the Warsaw Congress. KONATE, who had already been obliged to forbid the publication of extracts from the Communist press in this sheet, sent another protest to the editors from Paris, complaining about such publications which are evidently of a nature to compromise the favorable evolution of negotiations with the non-Communist groups.

In UPPER VOLTA, where the crumbling of the forces and even signs of the disintegration of the Party can be seen, the leaders

\* (Note: The full meaning of the foregoing paragraph is not clear in the original. There must have been typographical errors in the French).

of the RDA are particularly influenced by the desire for collection of party dues in a section where poverty makes it more difficult every month. One could reasonably be surprised to see that, even though the treasury was empty, two party leaders (DJIBRILLA MAEGA and DOHANI SERE) were sent off as delegates to the Congress of the Partisans of Peace in Warsaw. And DJIBRILLA's profound state of irresolution before his departure was well known. He simultaneously spoke of himself as a partisan of the breakaway from Communism and as being resolute in his will to support the need for the maintenance of the leadership exercised by the Communist Party over the RDA.

Yet it seems that in Paris the Secretary-General (by interim) of the RDA from Upper Volta chose by preference to contact the pro-Communist elements of his party. In a letter written November 19 to DJIBO BAKARY, Secretary-General of the P.P.N. (Niger) he severely criticizes the RDA-IOM conversations. "Our electees meet with many difficulties in their moves for unity. The Independents go so far as to ask them to join with them. What infamy! But in the end, the future belongs to those who have courage, to the pure in heart....etc."

Fifteen days later, in a letter to the same correspondent, he takes up the identical arguments: "the coordination committee is now formed only of parliamentarians; that is a violation of our statutes; the situation is worthy of being followed up... the slant is a dangerous one....Is it for this 'change of direction' (virement) which has proved to be without result anyway that we have lost our time, our health and our positions? ....I am disgusted but remain firm in my resolution to continue the struggle against all odds." The two lieutenants whom DJIBRILLA MAEGA asked to take charge by interim are very prudent...they are careful not to express any personal ppinions, and it is thought that they will approve the final decision if they are able to continuus receiving the pay usually accorded permanent officers of the Party.

It seems as though it were most especially in Upper Volta that the militants of the Party, weary of being considered agitators, were most hopeful that HOUPHOUET should get his point across so they would no longer have to be in continual conflict with public authority.

The five parliamentarians of the Union of Upper Volta wrote a letter to the President of the IOM Group on November 18 in which they formulated explicit reservations as to the possibility of an alliance: "Today they ask us to ratify a fact at whose original planning and conception we were not present. We would have wished this agreement to be a natural one, that is to say, that it be effective before being official. Those elected by the Africans are ready once again to be led into gigantic errors....Our only wish is that this regrouping of those elected by the Africans

take place after, not before the elections."

### N I G E R

The leaders of the UNIS have adopted a position which is identical on every point with that of the parliamentarians of the Union of Upper Volta. -----.

### I V O R Y C O A S T

The judgments expressed above on the desire of the militants of the party to see their representatives at the head of action for their rights (action revendicative) is equally valid for the IVORY COAST where the majority of the leaders are inclined to approve of HOUPHOUET's policy. The pro-Communist minority is led by ardent elements such as COFFI GADEAU, who refuse to admit of any compromise whatsoever with the enemy. These are the militants, who probably against HOUPHOUET's will, inspire the line of the "Démocrate", (Communist newspaper) who unceasingly preach disobedience, counsel even the use of force "to recapture what has been wrested by force, cleverness or betrayal...." (N° 227 of December 6).

The political commentaries of this mimeographed sheet tend mostly to follow the line of the Warsaw Peace Congress about the evils of American Imperialism. Local politics are mentioned only if they make it possible to provide, in a derogatory manner, those typical cases of colonialist oppression: "Individual liberty made a mockery of at BONDOUKOU; just like the Gestapo....arbitrary arrests, etc...."

It is surprising that HOUPHOUET does not make up his mind - unless he has lost control over the action of some of his lieutenants - to lessen the violence of these attacks in the press; the press campaigns in the "Démocrate" very obviously are detrimental to the negotiations which he is carrying on in Paris; they are fully agreed to by the Communist Party which, while it explicitly avoids casting slurs on the initiatives of the President of the RDA, does however insert in the Humanité of December 13 the text of an article which had appeared eight days before in the Démocrate of Abidjan. We have extracted the following passage from this virulent criticism of colonialism which was reproduced by l'Humanité.

"Our own experience, the past example of Madagascar, the example of Indochina and of Korea can leave absolutely no doubt, nothing equivocal. We are threatened in our very lives, etc..." and l'Humanité follows up this quotation with the following commentary: "It is certain that the working class and the people of France will strengthen the active solidarity with the peoples of Black Africa in the struggle for their liberties, so that their common action 'shall destroy the hideous hopes of colonialism in Black Africa.'"

It is hardly possible to be more explicit in censuring the RDA-Communist break.

However, it is thought that HOUPHOUET's return to the Ivory Coast may put an end to the doctrinal "errors" (deviations), because without a doubt the democrats of this territory are first of all partisans of HOUPHOUET, and accessorially follow the Stalinian ideology.

Opposition to the RDA has not been particularly spectacular during these last weeks. The leaders of the Entente des Indépendents, the Socialists, the Progressistes continue their work of penetration in the Interior. Negotiations underway between these groups, aiming at the coordination of the activities of the opposition, are going well and a solution satisfactory to the promoters of this coordination is about to be arrived at. In any case it is certain that the adversaries of the RDA are just as firm in their resolution to persist in their attitude of active hostility towards HOUPHOUET's party as they have been during the last months.

#### G U I N E A

In Guinea the RDA has most clearly shown its opposition to all forms of rapprochement with the non-Marxist groups. It is known that, led by TOURE SEKOU, MADEIRA KEITA, and RAY AUTRA, aggressive partisans of the Third International, the RDA of Guinea which has recently taken the name of Parti Démocratique de Guinée (P.D.G.), is trying to keep the party within the Marxist-Lenin lines. This will of theirs to remain faithful to such principals was expressed last month by their sending to the sub-sections a circular attributed to (and falsely, it seems) the delegation of the Coordination Committee having its seat at Abidjan, and which tended to incite the masses to continue their struggle against colonialism; to protest against the size of the war credits, etc....

The P.D.G. more recently persevered in this line of conduct by trying to diffuse some propaganda brochures in which there are analyzed according to the methods of Communist education, capitalism, colonialism, the role of the african working class in the struggle against Imperialism, the need for the accomplishment of Trade Union unity....etc; other propaganda material exposing the American cause in Black Africa is transmitted by the Senegalese section of the RDA and is already being used at Saint-Louis by the monitors of the Communist Study Groups.

One cannot see how a firm tendency to support HOUPHOUET's ideas can blossom in the bosom of the P.D.G. SEKOU TOURE, who was named as member of the World Council for Peace at Warsaw announces that he will return to Conakry on December 15. It is reasonable to suppose that the contacts he made in Paris

and behind the Iron Curtain only strengthened his faith in Stalin's doctrines.

The ethnic groups of Guinea, who with the Socialists have a powerful political position, seem to have admitted once and for all that it is vain to hope for a rapprochement with the RDA. Their hostility towards any agreement has not recently been formally expressed, but it is certain.

### SENEGAL

The attitude of the Senegalese section of the RDA (Union Démocratique Sénégalaise) is worthy of attention, not only because of its vitality, (and its difficulties which are increasing week by week), but because it brings out more clearly than in any other territory the helplessness of its leaders in the face of the present situation, and the completely temporary character of even the most decisive of their resolutions.

It is known that the leaders of the UDS were rather annoyed at being, longer than the responsible men of the other territories, held in ignorance of the developments in the RDA-IOM discussions. Their helplessness increased because they were not only temporarily deprived of their leaders (DOUDOU GUEYE in prison, G. GAUCHE and ETCHEVERRY in France), but they also saw that the majority of their faithful followers were turning away from the Party. Such considerations partially explain the virulence of the condemnation of the negotiations which was expressed by GUEYE ABDOULAYE on the 9th and the 16th of November last. It can be said that the resolution of the 9th of November constitutes the charter of those who are opposed to any action which would tend toward a rapprochement with the Indépendants d'Outre-Mer. This charter was distributed to the other territories and it is known that it was agreed to by the leaders of the Niger and of Guinea.

One could have supposed, such was the preemtitoriness of their condemnation of the agreements with the IOM, that the Senegalese RDA would persevere along this line by taking the lead in the opposition to HOUPHOUET, especially since d'ARBOUSSIER held an incontestable sway over the leaders of the UDS and that the authors of this combative move counted on being supported by DOUDOU GUEYE (former editor of Réveil) who was to be released from prison on November 23. As a matter of fact, the day after he was released, DOUDOU GUEYE was in no hurry to approve this stand: he declared at Saint-Louis and at Thies that it was particularly important, in the present circumstances, to avoid being imprisoned, and that it was more useful to think before condemning the parliamentarians of the party. A few days later, however, DOUDOU GUEYE appeared to be less disillusioned; on December 7 he incited the militants of Saint-Louis to continue

the struggle, to refuse to believe that the RDA was ready to join either with LAMINE GUEYE or with FILLY DABO CISSOKO, and that the breakaway was no more than a manoeuvre to create a new climate in the parliament, where those elected by the RDA saw themselves being reproved for submitting too directly to Communist orders. However, it can be noted that DOUDOU GUEYE has not recently renewed similar affirmations.

It must be stressed that C.G. ETCHEVERRY, owner-manager of Réveil upon his return from France where the leaders of the UDS had supposed that he could be an ardent and well-advised animator, as soon as he arrived in Senegal conducted himself as the defender of the action inspired by HOUPHOUET. Certain observers are of the opinion that ETCHEVERRY must have been largely influenced by the visit he made to the President of the RDA in Paris when the latter gave him the sum of 500,000 francs to help reduce the deficit of the Réveil, federal newspaper of the movement. Also, ETCHEVERRY seemed to agree to the stipulations of the protocol of agreement between the RDA and the IOM, since he declared in private conversations that he did not intend to continue publishing the paper except under the form of a weekly economics or sports bulletin. ETCHEVERRY was condemned in absentia by the Saint-Louis tribunal for defamation of character to one month in prison, 12,000 francs fine and 5,000 francs damages. The severity of such a sentence which was punishment for events he considered as past history doubtless reinforced his determination to revise his recent attitude, at least to act as the systematic opposer he had always been before; and indeed, on November 30 he declared in Saint-Louis that he would go to prison his head held high, continuing the struggle for peace and liberty, and once his prison term expired, he would once again take up the good fight in Réveil, seconded by the militants of the party.

At the beginning of this month (December) it was learned that lassitude had overcome the most dynamic elements of the Dakar RDA who even envisaged the cessation of all militant action. The Party Congress, the date of which had been first set for last August and whose promoters had successively hoped would take place at Saint-Louis, Guinguineo, Dakar, or Thies, was once again indefinitely postponed.

DJIBRILLA MAEGA's passage through Dakar on December 11 in a certain measure put new vigor into the vacillating ardor of the UDS. The Secretary-General of the Upper Volta, as could be expected, took his inspiration from the contacts he had just made in Europe - he had good reasons to continue the struggle for the Third International, and he asked the few UDS militants with whom he came into contact to remain faithful to d'ARBOUSSIER, whose emissary he said he was. Thus it seems that under d'ARBOUSSIER (of whom it is thought that he will face the general elections in France as a Communist) there will be a

regrouping of the intransigent elements: DJIBRILLA MAEGA, TOURE SEKOU, LATYR CAMARA (of Saint-Louis), those men who in France contacted the Vice-President of the Assemblée de l'Union, whose pro-Communist tendencies are well-known, and who will be good messengers of the orders for the struggle and may even lay the foundations of an African Communist Party. The framework for such a party, lacking in discipline but full of good will, exists in most of the territories; it will only be necessary to convince the masses, and we have repeated often enough that a party representing African opinion is not of necessity hostile to Communist propaganda.

To conclude this study, let us emphasize the fact that in its present form the RDA is undergoing a serious crisis, from the point of view of numbers (of followers) as well as from the material point of view; a crisis which was profoundly aggravated by the uncertainties relative to the success of the negotiations carried on by HOUPHOUET. Many militants have left the Party to join other political groups. Supporting the personal views of HOUPHOUET, the RDA parliamentarians have often not even been able to convince the rank and file in the territorial sections of the opportunity presented by the new orientation of the party, and to make up with their political adversaries. With the exception of the Upper Volta, the fundamental militants have kept their faith in the destiny of the party and have conserved their nostalgia for the calls for agitation which they used to receive, and for the propaganda which the Communist party may again one day see flourish within the RDA party. One can still question whether, after all, the French Communist Party does not prefer, to the advantages it might have reaped from the growth of an African Nationalist Party championed by HOUPHOUET, to admit that the projected union is improbable and to install in Black Africa men who will be entirely and completely devoted to it. In such a case, their repudiation of HOUPHOUET's cannot help but be officially proclaimed very soon; and the significance of the RDA-ICM agreements will no longer (since it will be limited to the agreement of a few personalities, the rank and file not having followed along) have but a restricted importance.

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## FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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PRIORITY: AIR POUCH

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TO : Department of State

NEA 7516.00/2-351

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MESSAGE CENTER 7516.00

FROM : AMONGEN DAKAR #172, FEBRUARY 8, 1951.

REF : DAKAR DESP. #127, DECEMBER 15, 1950. PM 4 46

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DDA	DDA
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SUBJECT : THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "GROUP INTER-  
PARLEMENTAIRE DES ELUS D'OUTRE MER."  
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It was reported in this Consulate General's Weekly Political and Economic Notes No. 10, dated January 18, 1951, that the Groupe Interparlementaire des Elus d'Outre Mer was established in Paris early in January. This interparliamentary body, composed of members of the Assemblée Nationale, the Conseil de la République and l'Assemblée de l'Union Française, was reportedly created to coordinate the activities of the overseas representatives in these bodies on questions affecting their territories, as was the case of a similar group which was created in 1946.

This body elected as its officers:

President - Mr. Lamine Gueye, Deputy from Senegal (Socialist)

Vice

President - Mr. Léopold Senghor, Deputy from Senegal (IOM)\*

- Mr. Félix Houphouët, Deputy from Ivory Coast (RDA)\*\*

- Mr. Charles Gros, Senator from Senegal (Socialist)

Secretary - Mr. Saller, Senator from French Guinea (IOM)

Assist.

Secretary - Dr. Borrey, Counselor of the French Union from Niger (IOM)

Treasurer - Mr. Guèye Momar Djim, Counselor of the French Union from Senegal (Socialist).

An examination of the personalities which have been elected as officers of this group and the parties which they represent, immediately raises questions as to the true purpose for the establishment of this group and its possible effectiveness. Three of the principal officers of this group representing different parties are political enemies, namely: Messers Lamine Gueye, Léopold Senghor and Félix Houphouët.

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Central Files

\* Indépendant d'Outre Mer.

\*\* Rassemblement Démocratique Africain

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FEB 14 1951

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What then is the true purpose of this body? Our information is that the establishment of this body resulted from purely political considerations, namely: to prevent the development of a strong anti-Government African political bloc. It is generally stated that this body will not produce concrete results because it was created as a political manoeuvre; it is a "façade" and "is not based on sincerity." While it is a consultative body, without authority, it will nevertheless provide a forum for the airing of views. Some believe that this body will in time disintegrate as it is composed of members of political parties with opposed, if not irreconcilable views.

The background of the organization of this interparliamentary group appears to have been the following. It is one of the results of the announced disassociation of the RDA party from the Communist Party in France, and the attempt of the parliamentary representatives of the RDA to align themselves with another party. Recently the RDA members in Paris have voted with the Government and not as a bloc with the Communists as was their former practice.

It is generally believed that the RDA members decided to veer away from the Communists and vote with the Government because they felt they had gone too far for their political health under Communist guidance, notably at the time of the disorders in Ivory Coast, in January, 1950. These events had given the Government inspiration and opportunity to take strong measures against the RDA leaders and agitators. Because of the violence exercised the Government was able to forbid RDA party meetings and demonstrations. Many prominent local members of the RDA resigned in disgust over the violent tactics of the party.

The RDA parliamentarians, therefore, felt that by continuing with their old line they were running very serious risks as concerns the coming elections late in 1951. New parties, avowedly anti-RDA, were gaining strength in FWA, and were making effective use in their propaganda, of the Communist influence and guidance over the RDA.

The RDA has been losing members for some time. After the RDA disassociated itself with the Communist Party in France, it cast about for a party to which it could attach itself. The IOM was approached. It was reported that the IOM group was divided within itself between that group which was prepared to accept the alliance with the RDA and that which was opposed to the association of the RDA with the IOM. The leader of the faction to align the RDA with the IOM was Senator Saller (IOM of French Guinea) who, it is stated, undertook these steps for personal, political reasons.

It is stated that the IOM faction which wished to have the RDA align itself with the IOM prevailed, and a protocol between the IOM and the RDA was signed in January, which provided for cooperation and coordination. This alliance would have placed the dissenting

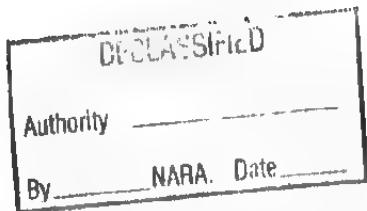
ICM group in a minority, and at the same time would have made a sufficiently strong ICM-RDA group to cause the Government concern. The anti-RDA group in the ICM approached the Socialists (the Government party) and, by the formation of this interparliamentary coordination group which included the Socialists, the ICM-RDA arrangement was spiked. Government circles therefore feel that by this maneuver, creating an expanded group (which will be ineffective), the danger of an RDA coalition with part of the ICM group has been offset.

The establishment of this interparliamentary group does not in of itself give any indication as to the future activities of the RDA group, the Communist influence over the RDA, nor the future course of the RDA party in French West Africa. This situation still remains nebulous and uncertain, and will bear close watching.

*J*  
John N. Plakias  
American Consul General

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NO. TAEGU 80 FROM DAKAR

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AUG 30 1951

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FROM: Dakar

TO: Secretary of State

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RE: 807, March 7, 10 a.m.

African Communist leader Sekou Toure intends go US. Now in East Berlin intends go Rome on way to US. See despatch 51, February 18, 1950.

Control: 3106  
Rec'd: March 7, 1951

7:52 a.m.

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Authority

UND 832914

by C. C. NARA Date 7/17/74

MORELAND

MJF:KC

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AIR POUCH SEP 8 1951

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PRIORITY

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## FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

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751t.001/9-451

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FROM AMCONGEN, DAKAR

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REF ID NO.TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHING~~TON~~ D. C. September 4, 1951

DATE

REF : None

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SUBJECT: Communist Strength in French West Africa

During an hour-long informal chat on August 30th with the Director General of the Interior, in the course of which a number of topics were touched upon, the Director General, while on the subject of Communism, remarked on the difficulties in getting the Communist line across in a territory as large as this where the population was so scattered and, to such a large extent, illiterate. He went on to say that those ticketed here with the Communist label because of their support of certain local Communist leaders, HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY, for example, were not really Communists at all, but only followers of Houphouet-Boigny, and that, were he to change his allegiance to some other party, his followers, or most of them, at least, could be expected to follow him into his new camp.

The Director General stated that, in his opinion, the Communist danger here had been considerably exaggerated; that there was no serious Communist problem here now; and that he did not feel that there would be one, so long as Communist leadership here was left in native African hands. He went on to say that the situation would become more dangerous if European leaders appeared on the scene, and, of course, much more dangerous in the event of Moscow's deciding to take a more direct interest in affairs in this general area than it would appear to have taken up to now.

M. Williams Blake

American Consul

Please send copy to Paris

P.O. BOX 456  
U.S. EMBASSY  
DAKAR, SENEGAL

MWBlake: lf

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FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM : AMCONGEN - DAKAR, FWA

148

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.

December 17, 1951

DATA

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4 ACTION DEPT.  
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SUBJECT: Catholic Newspaper Warns of Possible Communist Infiltration  
in French West Africa

The recent declarations of M. Felix HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY, RDA Deputy from Ivory Coast, that he and his Party had severed their affiliation with the Communist Party, have undoubtedly struck a direct body-blow to the cause of International Communism in French West Africa, for the present.

"Afrique Nouvelle", the official organ of the Roman Catholic Church in Dakar, published a lead article in its November 24th edition entitled, "To Those Who Sleep Standing Up", in which the writer accepts the advantages of Houphouet's declarations, but warns against complaisance in the face of the continuing Communist menace.

"We have no right to sleep, nor should we declare that Communist activity in Africa has been extinguished just because we see nothing, and because the Communists make no noise", declared the article. -

"Afrique Nouvelle" mentioned five principal methods by which the Communist Party has sought to further its aims in French West Africa:

- 1) By using the RDA to foment anti-French riots (1949-1950).
- 2) By trying to indoctrinate African students who come to France to study.
- 3) By trying to influence native workers belonging to the C.G.T.
- 4) By setting up and working through "front" cultural organizations.
- 5) By posing as the champions of the exploited African masses through propaganda over the radio, in the UN, and by press releases of Communist youth and student groups, among other outlets.

The Communist Party has failed in its objectives to gain a strong foothold in French West Africa. Houphouet, leader of the RDA, has renounced his Communist Party affiliation. (Despatches Nos. 122 of November 26, 102 of October 31, and 97 of October 29, 1951.) A

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At the Bamako meeting of the C.G.T. October 22-27, the RDA, led by Houphouet, broke off from the C.G.T., and Houphouet is now organizing an independent African Labor Union. French officials (notably teachers) suspected of pro-Communist leanings have gradually been weeded out by the Administration and sent back to France.

With this virtual elimination of Communist influence in politics and "study groups" and with the serious set-back of its program in the labor sphere, there remains one channel through which the Party has the best chance of gaining its objectives - namely, by indoctrinating African students who are sent to France for study.

It is this tactic of an intensified Communist effort to gain a hard-core of followers by subverting native students that particularly concerns "Afrique Nouvelle" (see attached summary of some of the tangible evidences of Communist moves to influence French West African students as taken from the article under reference).

M. BOISSIER-PALUN (political manager of Leopold SENGHOR, B.D.S Deputy), in a private conversation with the reporting officer, expressed the opinion that so far, the Communists had met with only limited success in building a strong nucleus of loyal adherents among the students. He said that most of those returning from France had become "re-absorbed in the mass" of their fellows, that in Africa they had felt too isolated from the font of Communist inspiration to carry out effective subversion of others.

Boissier-Palun, as well as French officials competent for political questions here, admit however, that if, as may be expected, the Communist Party intensifies its efforts to indoctrinate the students, the situation could become disquieting.

Native scholarship students receive a monthly allowance of 9,000 CFA francs (\$51), obviously a bare minimum. From the time of their arrival in Paris, according to M. Boissier-Palun, young members of French cultural associations with innocuous names, contact the students, arrange sightseeing tours for them, invite them out for meals and pay the expenses of tours to attend student conferences in other countries.

At first, these tours do not penetrate into the "Curtain" countries, but the French Communist students or young organizers assigned to subvert the Africans, continue to exert pressure on their African charges, seeking gradually to indoctrinate them. When a student from Black Africa shows signs of "seeing the light" he is taken to conferences in Praha, Warsaw and/or other Communist-dominated cities, where Communist youth groups gather.

As most students from French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa have no funds except their scholarship grant, and as most of

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them are inquisitive by nature and curious to meet strangers and see different countries, they are glad to profit by the opportunities for travel and recreation offered by the (Communist) cultural groups.

In view of the probability of an intensified Communist drive to build a core of Party Adherents among the educated youth of French West Africa, the question arises as to whether general conditions in this Federation are likely to be propitious for a successful Communist infiltration.

In the opinion of this Consulate General, the salient factors in the situation which could be counted upon to militate against Communist success in this program are, in brief:

1) There is no national feeling, either for French West Africa as a whole, or for any of the Territories. Strong tribal loyalty (Oualofs, Bambaras, Sousous, etcetera) especially in the interior, should, for sometime, work against any radical political movement directed from abroad.

2) Among educated Africans from whose ranks political and labor leaders will continue to be drawn, there appears to be a growing feeling of "belonging" to the French Union. This is particularly true of the Deputies who sit in the French Parliament and of Government employees who earn relatively high salaries.

3) The rights of the Africans are protected. They are French citizens; their land ownership is respected; there is no forced labor; they may move about when they wish and they may change employment freely. These facts give the lie to Communist accusations of "colonialism".

4) While there is some anti-white sentiment (particularly in Ivory Coast), traditional dislike for rival tribes usually surpasses antipathy toward the Europeans.

5) The vast majority of the people is primarily concerned with the immediate problem of obtaining food and clothing. The natives are politically minded but only in the superficial sense of enjoying colorful processions, following a leader and feeling that, as voters, they are of importance individually.

In brief, the uneducated natives appear to be content, and the so-called intellectuals have an increasing stake in the French Administration of which so many of them form a part.

On the other side of the balance sheet there is the fact that, notwithstanding their individuality, the Africans, being easily led by rabble-rousing leaders, could come under the influence of able men of their own race who had been indoctrinated by the Party while studying in France.

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Page 4 of  
Desp. No. 148  
From Dakar, FWA

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Page \_\_\_\_\_ of  
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Desp. No. \_\_\_\_\_  
From \_\_\_\_\_

The most effective way to forestall such an eventuality would appear to be for the French Government and/or non-Communist parties or groups in France to copy Communist tactics, but to endeavor to influence the students so that they will be anxious, when they return home, to participate, as French citizens and members of the French Union, in the development of French West Africa along free, democratic, Western lines.

M. Williams Blake  
American Consul General

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**EVIDENCES OF COMMUNIST ATTEMPTS TO INFLUENCE  
FRENCH WEST AFRICAN STUDENTS THROUGH  
"FRONT" STUDENT OR YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS**

- 1) A press release of the Berlin Communist Youth Festival announced that 1,000 representatives from "colonial" countries were present, including delegates from Dakar.
- 2) According to a press release of the World Fund for Student Aid (Headquarters at Vojtesska 12, Praha, Czechoslovakia) the Administrative Committee met on September 8th with 78 representatives from 100 countries, including most African countries, to discuss scholarship grants for next year.
- 3) At the September meeting of the Polish branch of the same organization (W.F.S.A.) at Warsaw, 7,500 Czech crowns (\$150) were voted for purchase of a mimeograph machine for Dakar. At this meeting, M. BEREANU of Rumania, the Secretary of the Administrative Committee, stated that students from all countries had contributed a total of \$335,273 for scholarships. He stated that students from "colonial" countries had given particular support to the World Fund.
- 4) In a press release of the International Union of Students (I.U.S.) issued on September 24th at Praha, it was announced that a group in French West Africa, among others from other parts of the world, had requested to be affiliated with the I.U.S.
- 5) At the September meeting of the Warsaw affiliate of the I.U.S., Africa was mentioned eight times directly, or indirectly by the term "colonial countries"; and 12 African countries were mentioned as having been represented at the meetings. Among recent requests for affiliation, as announced at the meetings, was that of the Student Section of the R.D.A. (Rassemblement Democratique Africain) of French West Africa.
- 6) The press section of the I.U.S. in Praha announced on October 8th that a conference of students from French and British West Africa had been held in Paris during the summer. Resolutions were passed emphasizing the necessity of: a) freeing the people of their homelands, b) developing education and c) building social and cultural exchanges between students, intellectuals and the youth to strengthen the cause of peace and for political and economic freedom of West Africa.
- 7) The Journal of the Berlin Festival published an article by N'DIAQUE CHIECK of Senegal in which he discussed how he had obtained one hundred signatures (for the Appeal for Peace) in his native village, how an old veteran had at first refused to sign because

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he thought all whites were bad. The writer, however, had persuaded this die-hard native that some whites who worked for the cause of peace were good. "All who work for peace belong to one family," he concluded.

8) In a recent article published in Praha, by the World Fund for Student Aid, a "Representative of the Association of African Students" stated that the 9,000 franc student scholarships were insufficient. He said that these grants should be increased to 15,000 francs.

The students had begun collecting objects of native handiwork to sell in order to raise more money, and he requested the Fund to assist in the sale of these items.

During the next three months, the article concluded, World Fund committees would be organized all over French West Africa to raise money for the scholarships.

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FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM : AMCONGEN, DAKAR, FWA  
TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.  
REF : None

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March 6, 1952  
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mlr	MAR 13	

SUBJECT: Communism in French West Africa

There is enclosed a copy, in translation, of a memorandum obtained by the Consulate General from Governor Ernest DE NATTES, the Director General of the Interior in the Government General, entitled as above indicated.

This despatch has been classified as "Confidential" because of the information it contains as to the source of that contained in the enclosure. The enclosure, itself, has been classified merely as "Restricted".

The Consulate General obtained two further memoranda from Governor de Nattes at the same time that it obtained the one transmitted with this despatch. They concern the origin and development of the RDA in FWA, and will be transmitted to the Department as soon as translations have been completed.

Governor de Nattes, incidentally, has shown himself to be very friendly to the United States and, in view of this and of his position in the Government General, he should prove a very useful source of information on political developments throughout the whole of FWA.

*M. Williams Blake*  
M. Williams Blake  
American Consul General

Enclosure: *Attn*

✓ Translation of above-described memorandum.

Please send copy to Paris

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E.O. 12815, Rep. 8.6

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By Off Date 7/6/60

*SKUMR 7/7/52*

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## TRANSLATION

### MEMORANDUM ON COMMUNISM IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA

The influence of the Communist Party and its affiliations in French West Africa was exercised, until recently, through three different organizations:

1. Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (African Democratic Gathering)
2. Les Groupes d'Etudes Communistes (Communist Study Groups)
3. Le Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor).

#### 1. Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA)

This political party, headed by Felix HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY, Deputy of Ivory Coast, was allied, on the parliamentary side, to the French Communist Party (PCF), which is not officially represented in F.W.A. Although the RDA did not identify itself with the Communist Party, it could be considered, only a few months ago, as its representative in Black Africa, following its instructions and reflecting its outlook on overseas questions.

The leaders of the RDA were in constant contact with the Central Committee of the PCF through a "Coordination Committee" whose headquarters are in Paris. The territorial sections had all subscribed to the various Communist publications ("Humanité", "Regards", "Femmes Françaises") to which all the principal members of the Party had also subscribed. During the Ivory Coast trials relative to the incidents which took place in this Territory in 1949-50 at the instigation of the RDA, the defendants were all represented by a "team" of Communist lawyers especially sent out from Paris, among whom were René COLOMBE and Pierre KALDOR.

Thus, even though officially distinct, RDA and PCF were allies and followed a common political line in French Black Africa, this duality being considered by the Communist Party as a tactical necessity. In fact, it was always thought that the African masses were not "ripe" to follow directly the instructions from the Metropolitan PCF, as they did not yet have cadres trained in the school of Stalinian Marxism. That is why the Communists have always tried to act upon the population of Black Africa through the medium of this purely African "mass party", which the RDA is, while trying to shape in their own fashion, jointly with the indirect action, the cadres of a proposed and future local Communist Party: Such was, in fact, the purpose of the Communist Study Group (GEC).

But the political evolution of the RDA, as analysed in another memorandum, has profoundly changed this situation, in causing the

breach with the PCF and in bringing into the opposition the elements remaining faithful to the Communist connection.

However, the Communist propaganda continued to be carried on, notably through the delivery of newspapers and pamphlets to the local leaders of the RDA, and in favor of the prisoners of Abidjan through the medium of the "Committee for the Defense of the Democratic Liberties in Black Africa". The expression of this active solidarity did not, it is true, manifest itself in a very conspicuous fashion in F.W.A., where the echos of the activities of this Committee are only transmitted by way of the bulletin of the organization ("Frères d'Afrique") and the organ of the "Secours Populaire International", "La Défense".

The Communist Party has also sent two representatives to Abidjan: the Messrs. ODRU, Councelor of the French Union, and SALINI, a journalist, who followed assiduously all the sessions of the Court of Assizes, but who refrained from all contact with members of the RDA. It has inspired, in addition, the sending to the President of the Court, of large numbers of letters and telegrams of protest, coming from the Metropole and various European countries, and denouncing the fate of the "400 from Bassam", the victims of "the monstrous trials of Abidjan". In spite of the amplitude of the efforts undertaken, this propaganda did not succeed in stirring up local opinion, which greeted the verdicts with calmness and even indifference.

It is still too early to judge the possible reactions of the PCF vis-a-vis the new political orientation of the RDA and to know whether it will try to regroup the extremist elements, either within a new party, or in the bosom of the dormant "Communist Study Groups".

## 2. Groupes d'Etudes Communistes (GEC)

According to the terms of the internal regulations of these Groups, they have for their aim:

- a) to contribute to the Marxist-Leninist education of their members, particularly concerning national and colonial questions;
- b) to study the economic, social, political and cultural situation of the Territory; and
- c) to help their members elaborate jointly the strategy and technique of the fight to be made against Colonialism from inside mass organizations (political as well as syndical, cultural, etcetera) of the Territory.

Theoretically, each Group includes:

- a) one or several "circles" for the theoretical and practical study of Communist policy in a way which would bring this study to a level accessible to the least educated comrades;
- b) if possible, a "circle of studies" containing the members of the Group who are desirous of studying thoroughly the fundamental texts and documents of Marx and Lenin.

In the Group whose aim is to contribute to the improvement of the political education of their members in order to enable them to lead an effective action in the organizations to which they belong, the fundamental condition of membership is effective participation in the fight of the masses against Colonialism. Sympathy towards Communist ideals or former membership in the French Communist Party is not sufficient for automatic admission to a Communist Study Group. It is only given in consideration of an effective part played in the fight against Colonialism.

If the RDA is considered a large organization of the masses, grouping elements from all the various layers of the African population who have decided to fight against Colonialism, the GEC, on the contrary, group the sole Communist elements present in a given locality or territory. They are in direct relation with the French Communist Party, as there cannot yet exist Communist parties in Black Africa where a proletariat scarcely exists.

Thus, there is, in principle, no organic tie between the Communist Study Group functioning in its territory and the organization of the RDA in the same territory. Of course, the members of the Groups have as an absolute duty to be, individually, active fighters in the anti-Colonial movement, that is to say, in the majority of cases, active fighters for the RDA, they must avoid at all costs substituting themselves for the leaders of the RDA.

In fact, the difference between the two organizations, generally, was less clear: the members of the Groups played almost everywhere the parts of "technical councilors" to the RDA and animated, in fact, the left wing of this Party.

Experience has proved, as a matter of fact, that the breach between RDA and PCF, was followed almost immediately by a progressive disintegration of the Study Groups in most territories, with the exception of those in which resistance to Houphouet's new policy succeeded for awhile in slowing down the evolution of the Party. In fact, if the Communist Study Groups in the Ivory Coast, whose activity had been particularly intense at the beginning of the year 1950, practically ceased all activity after the departure of their principal leader, Yves MATHIEU, on the other hand,

in Guinea, Soudan and especially in Senegal, they became the centers of opposition to Houphouet and remained so with more or less success until the final rallying of all the territorial sections to the new policy of the RDA.

Whether they have been officially dissolved or not, the Communist Study Groups have practically ceased their activities now in the whole of the Federation.

### 3. Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT)

Most African unions, right after the war, joined the CGT which is itself affiliated with the Communist dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, forbidden in F.W.A. by decree of January 31, 1951.

In 1948, at the time of the secession of the CGT FO, the African unions remained with the orthodox CGT.

And it can be said that from 1946 to 1949 the CGT formations actually succeeded in securing a quasi monopoly of trade union activities.

The union screen during this period served to shelter classical crypto-Communist propaganda, and union movements were frequently used for political ends.

But as early as 1949, the workers and their leaders began to realize that their own interest did not always necessarily coincide with the objectives of the CGT.

In 1949 and 1950, one noticed an evolution tending to take away a fraction of the African union movement from the CGT in order to direct it towards autonomy (note the similarity of this evolution with that of the RDA on the political plane); one observed at that time the creation of a free union of railroad workers, of various autonomous unions in Niger and, later on, the abandonment of CGT by the unions of Volta.

The beginning of this evolution actually coincided with the coming on the scene of the CGT FO unions (CGT FO is affiliated internationally with the International Confederation of Free Unions established in 1949 in the United States).

We could almost hope for awhile that there would be a total breach between the African unions and the CGT.

But the latter saw the danger. At Bamako last October, various Metropolitan leaders, especially sent there for the purpose (DUFRICHE, CARROU, FINALE) leaning on the most trustworthy local elements

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SECURITY INFORMATION  
(Classification)

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End. No. 1  
Desp. No. 190  
From Dakar, FWA

(DIALLO ABDOULAYE, GUEYE BASSIROU, DJIBO BAKARY) tried with some apparent success, during a highly organized Congress, to restore the failing union unity.

They succeeded in keeping temporarily a semblance of unity and in postponing some new foreseen breaches. But it can be stated that, if the CGT remains in F.W.A. one of the best instruments for the diffusion and propagation of the slogans of the Kominform, it is far actually from rallying behind it the whole of the workers and risks finding itself soon, weakened by the breaches which the Congress of Bamako only postponed.

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FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM AMCONGEN, DAKAR, FWA 36  
DESP. NO.

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON

July 30, 1952  
DATE

REF Dakar's desp. No. 11 of 7/11/52  
1952 AUG 6 AM 9 32

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SUBJECT: Trial in Ivory Coast Relating to the 1950 Communist Disturbances

Another trial at Abidjan relating to the Communist inspired disturbances in the Ivory Coast in early 1950 has just been completed. This trial began on July 11 and was consequent to the trouble at Affery on January 17 and 18, 1950. In consonance with the policy of "great clemency" adopted subsequent to the R.D.A.'s break with Communism, the 34 persons convicted received short prison terms, which were suspended. 19 persons were acquitted.

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American Consul General

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## FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

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XR 751t.00

April 23, 1953

DATE

FROM : AMCONGEN, DAKAR, FWA MESSAGE CENTER 310  
TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.  
REF : Dakar's desp. 1953 APR 29 AM 10 29  
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SUBJECT: Trial in Ivory Coast Relating to the 1949-50 RDA (Communist) Disturbances: Present Orientation of RDA and Possible Rapprochement With SENGHOR's BDS

The trial in Abidjan relating to the "Treichville Affair" wound up on April 18 after several weeks. Four persons were acquitted, five received suspended sentences of confinement and fines, and eight were sentenced to prison terms and fined (the highest 30 months and 5,000 francs).

This trial, like the previous ones, was consequent to an RDA-inspired disturbance early in 1950 in the principal native section of Abidjan, called Treichville, which resulted in rioting and pillage. In consonance with the policy of appeasement as a result of the RDA's subsequent break with Communism, there was evident a spirit of clemency on the part of the Presiding Magistrate and a lack of aggressiveness on the part of the Prosecution.

It is not without some interest to note that one of the principal defense attorneys was Mr. BOISSIER-PALUN of Dakar, President of the Grand Council of FWA and political lieutenant of French Deputy Leopold Sedar Senghor of the BDS (Bloc Democratique et Social)\*. Although Boissier-Palun was retained by the RDA to defend these people before he became Senghor's "right hand" in Senegal, it is believed by some observers in Dakar that his presence in Abidjan, and his tie-up with the RDA in these trials, has been opportune for the BDS, which is far from averse to reaching some kind of political entente with the RDA. It may be mentioned in this connection that Senghor invited HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY, the RDA chieftain, to participate in the February meeting at Bobo-Dioulasso where the "Movement of Overseas Independents" was formed\*\*. While Houphouet did not attend, he did send a telegram to the opening Session of the Congress. But a few days later, in Paris, Houphouet and his partisans adhered to the "Groupe Inter-Parlementaire Africaine" which was founded by Deputy (from Soudan) Fily Dabo SISSOKO,

\* BDS was formerly the Bloc Democratique Senegalais. The change in name is in line with its leaders' aspirations of expansion beyond Senegal's borders.

\*\* Attention is invited to C.G.'s desp. 296 of April 13, 1953 and previous concerning the Overseas Independents.

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From Dakar, FWA

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From \_\_\_\_\_

under the aegis of the Socialist Party, as a counterattraction to the Overseas Independents. It is noteworthy, however, that Houphouet and his people recently quit the Inter-Parliamentary Group. This latest development is seen in some circles here as a result of Senghor's and Boissier-Palun's blandishments, and there is foreseen the possibility of a further rapprochement between Senghor and Company and Houphouet and Company in the future.

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FROM : AMCONGEN, DAKAR, FWA

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TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.

October 10, 1951

DATE

REF : None

17 For Dept.	ACTION OLI	DEPT. DCR EUR NEA IE
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SUBJECT: Newspaper Article on Sidi El Mooktar N'DIAYE, the Deputy to the French National Assembly from Mauritania, French West Africa

There is enclosed a copy, in translation, of an article, which appeared in Paris-Dakar's issue of August 11, 1951 regarding Sidi El Mooktar N'Diaye, the new deputy from Mauritania to the French National Assembly.

*M. Williams Blake*

M. Williams Blake  
American Consul General

Enclosure: *att.*

*✓ As stated*

Copy sent direct to Paris

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Date of Action *10-19-51*

Action Office Symbol *81*

Name of Officer *MCL*

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RP

\*SIDI EL MOOKTAR N'DIAYE

"Deputy of Mauritania

"Dressed in a blue "kaftan" wearing white "babouches", the new Deputy of Mauritania draws many curious stares from people in the hall of the 'Palais Bourbon'.

"Not very tall, but majestic with his fine beard and his black eyes, he attracts a great deal of attention.

"'I have been brought into politics in spite of myself,' said Mr. Sidi El Mocktar N'Diaye, 'as, in our country up to the last reforms, Mauritaniens did not care what happened around them. The reforms, at the beginning, were coldly received. Some people said that they were the prelude to an overturning of traditions. Fortunately, the intellectuals understood that they would not change anything in our customs. France would respect our traditions and our ways of living. The Mauritanian Progressive Union, to which I belong, had never asked anyone to run for deputy, but the first man elected for the territory showed himself a despot. His position went to his head and he acquired a very high conception of his role. His action was mainly directed against the important families of Mauritania. Thus, the young men decided to defend their chiefs. I have been designated by my friends to represent our movement, which has no ties with any of the metropolitan parties in the National Assembly; Mr. Torre even renounced his candidature in my favor.'

"Mr. Sidi Mocktar N'Diaye, to whom we leave, of course, the responsibility for his statements, has made his political campaign by plane and truck, holding his meetings in the French and Moorish languages.

"'Everything went well,' he said, 'in spite of the incidents that the partisans of Mr. Hama Ould Babane tried to start.'

"Born at Atar, 50 years ago, Mr. N'Diaye, spokesman for his territory, was first a student at the Koranic School of Kiffa, where his father held the position of interpreter; then he continued his studies at the School for the Sons of Chiefs, at St. Louis, Senegal.

"'I came out first at my graduation, and I believe that I have left the memory of being an excellent student in Kiffa as well as in St. Louis.'

"Nominated Public Servant of the Administration of Mauritania, Mr. N'Diaye held several posts before becoming Deputy.

"Paris was an old acquaintance for him. He came to France last year, and, during a stay of a month and a half, he visited, not only the capital, but also Brittany, Nantes and St. Nazaire.

"What strikes me most," he said suddenly, "is the sympathy that the French show me."

"Had you heard that the French were malevolent? They are, as a rule, very pleasant. There is no racial discrimination in our country."

"I realize that and, in this connection, I would say that we are the ones who have it."

"Since he arrived in Paris, Mr. N'Diaye often goes out at night with a small Mauritanian colony composed of four students who are there to continue their studies.

"But I believe his visit of the Invalides is the one which impressed him most. The greatness of the decor, the collection of trophies, the flags, all of this greatly impressed him.

"At the Parliament, Mr. N'Diaye will try to solve the important problems on which depend the development of Mauritania, that of water in the first place, which solution is extremely important for a cattle raising country; that of the mines; and the means of communications. And if he plans to go back to his country soon, it is to prepare for the coming elections to the General Council, and also to be reunited with his wife who lives with her family while he is away.

"Last disclosure: Mr. N'Diaye likes horse races very much and goes to Longchamp every Sunday to see them; he also likes to read many newspapers."